

# *ANARCHY* a journal of DESIRE ARMED

Issue #17

DISARM AUTHORITY! ARM YOUR DESIRES!

Fall/Winter 1988-89

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COVER COLLAGES by: Freddie Baer

**"Professions of the Papalagi"**

**John Zerzan on "Who Killed Ned Ludd?"**

**Lone Wolf Circles on "The Freedom of Biocentrism"**

**Feral Faun on "The Quest for the Spiritual"**

**"Stumps Suck! on the Okanogan" by Mikal Jakubal...."Chaos and Anarchy" by Kansas Slim...."Why Working Girls Doesn't Work" by Bill Blank....Discussion on "Anarchy & Religion"**



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# Openers

## Anarchy notes

**Us hate government?**

This last spring, petty bureaucrats at a local prison just north of here confiscated a copy of *Anarchy* #15 bound for a waiting prisoner. As readers may remember, that issue featured a brightly colored cover photo of a burning church, along with the anarchist motto, "neither god, nor master," though I'm sure the cover had absolutely nothing to do with the fact that it was confiscated! However, someone in the prison system has shown an incredibly new and high level of comprehension of the message contained within this journal--the ostensible reason for its confiscation (according to the prisoner who didn't get to see it) was that they "found (*Anarchy*) to promote 'Governmental hatred.'"

**Mail sabotage?**

Quite a few subscribers have complained recently that they have not received recent issues (esp. #15), or that their subscription copies of *Anarchy* have been delivered quite late. There are three possible reasons for these problems, different ones being responsible for different instances.

1) The first and most important (and most easily avoided) is that subscribers must report their address changes to us at least 6 weeks in advance if they don't want to take a chance on missing issues. For the most part, *Anarchy* is sent out by 3rd class bulk mail (because 1st class would end up costing us as much or more in postage than we receive for subscriptions), and the U.S. Post Office does not forward 3rd class mail! Please remember it is your responsibility to let us know about your address changes promptly. We simply can't afford to send extra copies to subscribers who have moved.

2) The second is that *Anarchy* doesn't (and simply can't for logistical reasons) get published on any sort of strictly regular basis. The magazine doesn't pay for itself. All labor is done voluntarily when we have the time to do it! We, like most of the rest of you, have to spend large portions of our lives working at sickening jobs--not just to pay for our survival, but also to pay the printing (and other costs) involved in publishing this paper. So please give us a break!--we don't yet have the resources to come out as often, or as regularly, or as efficiently as we'd like to.

3) The last reason, and the one none of us has much control over, is that the speed, efficiency and dependability of the

## ANARCHY CONTACT NETWORK?

We are beginning a listing of addresses of groups and individuals who would like to see the growth and development of a post-situationist, anti-ideological revolutionary tendency. The list will help enable those participating to make regional contacts and intercommunication links. If you'd like to see your address added to this listing please write:

**Anarchy c/o C.A.L.**

POB 1446

Columbia, MO. 65205-1446

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531 Westchester Way  
Birmingham, MI. 48009

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Green River, WY. 82935

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18218 Hwy 9  
Boulder Creek, CA. 95006

U.S. mail system is unpredictable. They sometimes "lose" copies, and more often simply take their time delivering them. *Anarchy* #15, for instance, took anywhere from one to three months to find its way to some subscribers, if it made it there at all.

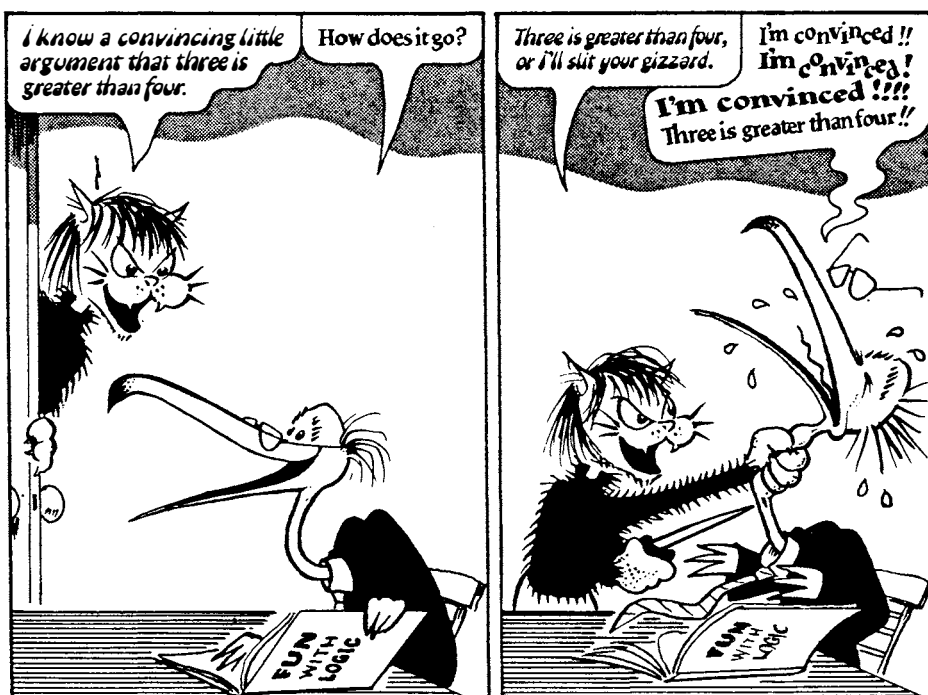
So readers, please try to keep all these facts in mind before you write to complain about your subscription copy being "late." Though if you haven't moved without notifying us on time, and you still haven't received your subscription copy even though it should have already arrived, please let us know and we will certainly send you another copy ASAP. Thanks for your patience!

**Canadian subscriptions**

We're sorry to have to do it, but with the recent rise in postal rates, we are being forced to raise the price of our Canadian subscriptions. This is due to the fact that it now costs more to send out Canadian subscriber copies than we receive for them. We can't send them out by third class bulk mail as we do most of our U.S. copies, so with the rise in first class and regular printed-matter rates, it now costs us 96 cents in postage to send out each 32-page subscription copy--for which we've only been receiving \$1.00. We hope our Canadian readers understand the necessity for this change.

**Departments**

With our next issue we are beginning a regular spread of news concerning prisons and (primarily anarchist) prisoners. This will be edited from Lawrence Kansas by Boog and Mark, who have been doing prison support work for the last few years--especially in regard to the case of Avi Naftel. We are also interested in seeking responsible anarchists (preferably who are sympathetic with our anti-ideological editorial perspective) to take responsibility for editing two news-short sections for *Anarchy* centered on ecological and feminist themes. We are looking for people willing to do extensive reading in an area, surveying the major relevant publications--especially anarchist periodicals. They must be able to distill their surveys into readable and coherent assemblages of short news pieces (e.g. updates on environmental problems,



Donald Room (Reprinted from *Wildcat Anarchist Comics*, published by Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., London, E1 7QX, U.K.)

# Openers

## The sad truth

### Helping the homeless

According to **Newsweek** there are up to three million homeless people in the U.S. today. One third of these, contrary to stereotypes, are families with children—that's one million members of families with children sleeping on the streets. Cities like Boston and New York have spent hundreds of millions of dollars, even **billions** of dollars, to build low-income housing units. New York City, this year alone, is expected to spend \$500 million on the problem. But thousands of homeless people still sleep in the streets.

Reagan administration policy for the homeless has been to cut funding dramatically from \$30 billion in 1981 to \$7 billion in 1987. A cut of 70% in six years.

**Newsweek**, in its usual bullshit fashion, attempts to solve the problem, calling first for consciousness-raising amongst the populace and for the elimination of stereotypical attitudes towards the homeless—they're not all mental cases, alcoholics and drug addicts. Then **Newsweek** suggests we need a new national housing policy with some one person or agency in charge: "We need a Marshall Plan, a Berlin Airlift for the cities"—Stella Schindler, Director of Mayor Koch's N.Y.C. office for the homeless. And, lastly, **Newsweek** suggests we put local initiatives to better use; using Boston's Project Shelter or Los Angeles's "Village Concept" as models. This proposal is in line with Reagan's intention to dump the whole "welfare problem" back to the states.

There is nothing new here. Just the normal alarmist bullshit one expects from the national newsweeklies which seem to operate under some unstated liberal paradigm whose assumptions are supposedly self-evident and sacrosanct. The clue to the **real** problem of the homeless is noted by **Newsweek** and then ignored: "Better than eight out of ten Americans now say the issue embarrasses them."

**Embarrasses them.** And what is the feeling of embarrassment other than a sense of self-guilt over a situation? Because embarrassment attacks the bedrock of a person's values—values that by their nature are fundamentally almost unalterable—the feeling causes annoyance and an avoidance reaction in the person embarrassed. It is something to be avoided, not solved.

In the case of our national embarrassment caused by the homeless, the cherished values that are threatened are the ones tied directly to the American Dream: a "good" job, car and house for anyone

struggles, disasters) from an anarchist perspective, announcements (e.g. info on the more relevant of upcoming feminist gatherings, publications, protests, etc.), and if they are interested, serve as "contributing editors" for **Anarchy** features.

### Other notes

As usual we're running a little later with production of this issue than was planned. This is only the third issue we've published this year, but at this point we have plans to publish five or six issues in 1989. A major factor in how often we print, however, will be the amount of support we receive from our readers. If you'd like to help us publish more often, we need your contributions! Please consider becoming contributing subscribers at \$30 or \$60/issue.

Also, as usual we're somewhat overloaded with letters and exchange publications. We really ought to catch up with our backlog of letters in the next issue. And we'll sincerely try to sort through our backlog of publications received so that all the missing titles appear in the upcoming "Anarchist press review" and "Alternative press review." Please have patience with us.

who is willing to work hard enough for them. In this dream there is no room for failure.

So, the problem of the homeless is the number two issue in the country only because it challenges the nation's long-held assumptions of living the "Good Life." To solve the problem (or, at least, to perhaps reduce it from #2 to #10) we must merely remove the embarrassment.

Out of sight, out of mind goes the saying, and while it would be nice if all the homeless had homes to live in, providing such homes, as **Newsweek** points out, would cost as much as \$20 billion a year for the next 15 years—a total outlay of some \$300 billion. And what would we end up with after such an expenditure? Huge Cabrini Green warehouses full of people made desperate by overcrowding in anonymous environments, and the random violence, increased drug addiction and boredom which would result. This is too expensive a solution just to salve the conscience of the nation. Something cheaper is needed—much cheaper.

Excerpted from: **No Bullshit**  
POB 1095  
Kokomo, IN. 46901

### Cops on drugs

In Southern California it's getting hard to find prospective recruits for police forces who haven't used illegal drugs. Lately, from 45% to 80% of police officer candidates who pass their written exams have been admitting to their use.

"Frankly, it's reaching a catastrophic stage for most departments," Orange County police Sergeant Timm Browne said. "We're expending an awful lot of time and effort just to find people who don't do drugs. It's scary."

Of course, it's quite obvious to anyone not caught up in the anti-illegal-drug hysteria that usually harmless recreational (legal and illegal) drug use occurs throughout society and crosses most sexual, racial, class, religious, and ideological lines. So it's no surprise that, as Browne says, "We're finding an entire generation of young men and women who see little wrong with low-level drug use. Even those who don't use marijuana or cocaine don't think it's a big deal. They just don't see it as a law-breaking offense." Is this something to be worrying about? SOURCE: **San Francisco Chronicle**

### No free lunch

On August 29th, San Francisco police arrested 29 people when members of a group called Food Not Bombs attempted to hand out a free lunch of rice and beans

in Golden Gate Park. After a pot-banging parade through the Haight-Ashbury district by about 100 members of the group, 60 riot-equipped cops moved in to make arrests while the crowd chanted "Food, not bombs" and "Arrest hunger, not free food." Those arrested were charged with illegal distribution of food, demonstrating and leafleting without a permit, and creating a public nuisance.

The group had begun distributing free food at the eastern end of the park several months ago, but drew complaints from nearby property owners' associations who claim the meals "attract criminals and drug users." Members of the Cole Valley Improvement Association and other well-off groups opposed to the giveaway watched from the patio of a McDonalds restaurant as police made the arrests. At the same time members of the Haight-Ashbury Neighborhood Council which supports the free food program joined in the demonstration.

No demands were made by either side, however, to shut down the local McDonalds where cheap junk food is sold. SOURCE: **San Francisco Chronicle**

### Local notes

#### ACLU wins case against strip searches

ACLU of Mid-Missouri was able recently to win a court victory which may mitigate the routine abuses practiced by Missouri law enforcement agencies. In June U.S. District Court Judge Scott Wright ruled that the Strip Search and Body Cavity Search Policy of the Boone County Jail violated both the Fourth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution and Missouri statutes.

The ACLU had sued the Sheriff of Boone County on behalf of eleven of a group of anti-apartheid protesters who were arrested in February by University of Missouri (UMC) Police acting on the direct orders of UMC administrators. The eleven were each awarded \$1,000 for actual damages and an additional \$250 each for punitive damages. In addition to the damage awards, attorney's fees were also awarded.

A spokesman for the Missouri Sheriff's Association was quoted in the **Columbia Daily Tribune** as saying that this ruling would change search practices at jails throughout the state. Under previous policy, at many jails throughout the state, any citizen accused of violating any city ordinance or committing any state misdemeanor, including traffic offenses, who was unable to post bond, was routinely subjected to the strip search procedure.

### Mailing codes

For those who are interested in such things, if you received this issue of **Anarchy** by mail, there was likely a short code in the upper right corner of the mailing label. The code key follows:

"#17" indicates that you are a U.S. subscriber whose subscription will run out with this issue. Other numbers alone indicate that your subscription will end with that number. So, if your mailing code indicates that your subscription has ended with this issue, **now is the time to renew!**

"#P17" indicates that you are receiving a free prisoner's subscription, but that it will expire with the issue number indicated unless you contact us to "let us know that you wish to continue receiving **Anarchy!**"

"S17" indicates that you paid a little extra to receive your subscription in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"Z17" indicates that you paid even more in order to receive your subscription by 1st class mail in plain brown envelopes. The number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"L17" indicates that you are a library/institutional subscriber. And once again, the num-

ber indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"F17" indicates that you are a subscriber living in another country besides the U.S. As usual, the number indicates the number of the last issue of your subscription.

"X" indicates that we exchange (or at least wish to exchange) with your periodical, and that you publish in the U.S. If we hear from you, we'll most likely continue sending **Anarchy**. If we don't, sooner or later (probably sooner) we'll stop sending it.

"F" indicates that you're lucky enough to be a friend who merits receiving **Anarchy** for free. You'll keep receiving **Anarchy** until your friendship runs out.

"FX" indicates that we exchange with your periodical (or wish to) and that you publish outside the U.S. Keep sending us your publication, and most likely we'll keep sending you ours, even if it drives both of us into bankruptcy.

"M10" indicates that for one reason or another we're sending you multiple copies of each issue of **Anarchy**—usually in the amount of the number following the "M." You might be a bookstore or distributor. You might just be a good friend or special contributor. If you get a bill with your multiple copies you're probably one of the former. If you don't get billed, consider yourself one of the latter!

## Anarchy #17

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**Anarchy** is a somewhat irregular (currently aiming at bimonthly) publication of the Columbia Anarchist League, an anti-profit organization of local anarchists dedicated to catalyzing the creation of a more libertarian world.

We sell no advertising, have no paid staff, and finance this journal entirely through donations and subscriptions.

**Subscriptions** are currently:

\$6.00 U.S./six issues for individuals in the U.S. (unwrapped, 3rd class)

\$9.00 U.S./six issues for individuals in Canada or Mexico, and for those individuals in the U.S. who want to receive their subscriptions in plain brown envelopes)

\$12.00 U.S./six issues for libraries and institutions (North America)

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Back issues are available postage paid at one sixth the price of subscriptions (rates given above) per copy. Issues #1 & 2 (xeroxed) & #6 through #16 (originals) are currently available.

**PLEASE MAKE ALL CHECKS PAYABLE TO THE "C.A.L."** And keep in mind that since we began sending out subscriptions in third-class bulk mailings, that **YOU MUST SEND US CHANGE OF ADDRESS NOTICES PROMPTLY** (this means at least 6 weeks before you move!) in order to receive your copies. The Post Office does not forward them! And we can't afford to send out extra copies.

Please send checks or money orders in U.S. dollars only. U.S., Mexican, Canadian or British paper currencies are also acceptable. For checks made out in foreign currencies, add at least U.S.\$5.00 for conversion. (It costs us at least that much.) Subscriptions are free to prisoners. Sustaining contributors donate \$30.00 to \$60.00 per 6 issues. Please address subscriptions, contributions, submissions and letters to:

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**For submissions**, please enclose a self-addressed, stamped envelope with all articles, stories, photos, and graphic art if you wish to have them returned. Short news and comment articles which are used in the "The sad truth," "Radical news review," and "International anarchist news" will be edited for brevity and style. Other submissions (features) will be edited only with the author's permission. Until we can afford to remunerate authors, photographers, and graphic artists for their published contributions we will give free subscriptions or other appropriate tokens of our appreciation.

**Editorial advisory group:** A Hacker, Shagbark Hickory, Toni Otter, Diane Dekay, Avid Darkly, and Lev Chernyl.

The views expressed in the articles, graphics, letters, etc. published in **Anarchy** do not necessarily reflect the views of the Columbia Anarchist League, nor those of the editor(s).

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## Radical news in review

# Stumps Suck! on the Okanogan

by Mikal Jakubal

On July 6th, 120 people participated in a protest action at the Okanogan National Forest Supervisor's Office which caught everyone—cops, Freddie's (U.S. Forest Service officials), and protesters alike—off guard with both its size and intensity. The event followed the week-long Earth First! Round River Rendezvous which took place this year in the Kettle Range of north-central Washington. Each Rendezvous is traditionally followed by a large action (or three!) organized around a pressing local issue. With Washington's reputation for uncompromisingly militant and radical action already well established, the stage was set....

### It's all ecocide to me

The "issues" surrounding the Okanogan National Forest are really no different than other U.S.F.S. land abuse controversies: cattle grazing, deforestation, loss of bio-diversity, destruction and taming of wilderness, liquidation of old-growth forests, etc., etc., etc. To this extent, the Okanogan was chosen only as a conveniently located focus for these larger issues, not because the Freddie's and their policies are necessarily any worse than the rest of the agency. They had also never been subject to a protest before.

The original plans, as discussed at a well-attended action prep. and campfire planning circle, involved occupying the office while a "legal" demo took place outside. Contingency plans were also developed should building access be denied (as it was). For the demonstration, everyone was encouraged to develop their own mini-event or bit of theatre, which could occur within the larger context of the action. This way an atmosphere is created which frees up individual creativity, fosters independent action and spontaneity, and avoids the boring "mass of sheep" feeling that often makes protests seem like a new version of drudgerous daily life. Be wild!

Action morning began on an exuberant note as crowds, music, signs and banners filled the otherwise dreary parking lot. Cheers went up as four EF!ers appeared on the roof, unfurling banners and chalking huge slogans on the fascia boards at the roof's edge. Old Glory soon flew inverted alongside an Earth First! fist pennant on the flagpole, and piles of cowpies and sawdust—symbolic of forest abuse—were dumped around the building. Two people, faces brightly painted like many others in the crowd, chained themselves to a rail to block access to a doorway. Stickers, chalk and water-based paint, distributed in liberal amounts to participants, provided each an opportunity for creative self-expression. The sidewalks, windows and walls soon became an open forum, a giant canvas. "Stumps suck!", "Cattle Grazing: Bullshit on the Forest," "Stop Deforestation, Spike Trees," and "Civilization is Dead. Be Wild!" were a few of the diverse messages. Early on, cowpies were placed over air conditioners as a reminder to the bureaucrats of what their policies really mean. With much amusement, we later learned that with the cooling system inoperable, all computers had to be shut down for the day!

### Unexpected Events

"False Arrest! False Arrest!" The chant rose in volume as more and more people, drawn in by the chant itself, converged on the path of a cop attempting to arrest a protestor whom he falsely accused of



General revelry at the Okanogan National Forest Supervisor's Office

painting. Till then the few police had remained relatively low key and we had expected little trouble from them. This situation changed dramatically and people, outraged by this unprovoked abuse, surrounded the patrol car, blocking access with bodies and banners. Seconds later the prisoner was released to the jubilant crowd while the cops scurried off to call for reinforcements. This event caught everyone by surprise with both its spontaneous energy and almost storybook victory. But it was only the beginning.

More cops arrived within minutes and set to work arresting two sidewalk painters. Again the chanting and obstructing began, this time with more intensity. With the arrested painters loaded into the car—only after some serious arm twisting—a group of several dozen formed an impromptu sit-down blockade of the vehicle. Chants, singing and music rose as the blockaders hurriedly discussed non-cooperation and jail solidarity strategy. Our demand: Release those now detained without charges or arrest us all. We held firm and waited.

### A New Level of Commitment

These events had definitely not been "in the scenario," as they say, however, the clarity and cohesiveness of our response to such an unexpected escalation confirmed a healthy maturation of the movement's strength and likely presaged a new level of commitment on the part of individual activists and the resistance as a whole. Though tame compared to protests of, say 1968, for most of us the intensity level experienced here was a whole new world, a real learning experience.

During, and especially after, the action many of those involved expressed doubts about the apparent shift in emphasis from the U.S.F.S. to the police and court system. The sentiment was that we may have lost focus and fragmented ourselves by confronting the police and not the Forest Service policies which were ostensibly the target of the action in the first place. This deserves elaboration.

The massive police presence, far from distracting from the issue at hand, underscored the unitary nature of the problem and demonstrated just one of the many

ways in which questions of state power, domination and justice are inseparable from environmental issues, but it goes much deeper than this as well.

To focus on a single "issue" in a fundamentally interconnected world is to reproduce exactly the basic underpinnings of techno-industrial civilization. That is, by isolating a single piece from the whole in an attempt to change it, we validate, in the political and social realms, the same reductionist viewpoint taken by science to understand and manipulate the natural realm. Is isolating one aspect of the whole complex of social interactions which make up human society any different—or any more valid—than separating a single species from a complex ecosystem in order to manage it?

Though we may be concerned with environmental issues, the problem must be understood as clearly a human social one: The destruction and domestication of wilderness directly corresponds to an artificial flattening and impoverishment of human existence under the crushing dead-weight of civilization. This is the basic condition which underlies all the issues and which must necessarily be subverted and transformed. This by no means suggests we abandon the issues! Rather, we need to develop a critique which challenges society in its entirety even as it focuses that challenge on the controversy of choice. The viewpoint which questions and confronts only the surface issues is what should rightfully be termed "unfocused"! At best, such fragmentary opposition can only lead to fragmentary and temporary solutions. At worst, it subverts and delays the genuinely radical transformation—which can only be termed revolutionary—required to save wilderness and everything else. But enough of this. Back to the story....

### No Deals

The blockade continued throughout the day even as the police presence expanded. Police roadblocks diverted all traffic through a residential neighborhood blocks away from the Forest Service office. In response, many protestors carried their signs down to the barricades where they received, according to one picketer,

"about 50% positive responses" from motorists. The demo continued, generally without incident, though one attempted arrest was foiled when a group of people encircled the potential arrestee and led him safely away from the cop's reach.

Negotiations took place on and off throughout the day. We remained intransigent: no police cars will leave till the prisoners are released uncharged. The cops made offers which were totally unacceptable. The best was that those detained would be taken inside, questioned, charged and released on their own recognition. This meant that they would be required to appear in court at a later date after all their support had gone. They would also likely be charged with the full cost of the cleanup of any paint and stickers. Some deal! When it was offered in writing, someone pointed out that only the D.A. and judge can make binding deals. A few shouts of "authority always lies!" seemed to help clear up any misconceptions.

Our strength rested on the inability of the system (Okanogan is a small, poor county) to deal with so many of us...but we underestimated its will to at least try. Our blockade of the Forest Circus officials and bureaucrats leaving at day's end was the cops' last straw and authorities from three different counties soon arrived. Even the local dogcatcher showed up! Several quick circle meetings were held to firm-up strategy and commitment and, shortly after this, the word arrived that riot-equipped police with dogs were on the way.

Where previously only a handful of us were willing to risk arrest, now there was a crowd. The Freddie's are one thing, but seeing friends roughly arrested gives a protest a whole new relevancy. Amid a high-strung atmosphere it took over 50 cops and dogs to arrest all the blockaders after they defied a two-minute warning. All had to be physically dragged away.

Several more people were arrested arbitrarily, one when he politely asked for the return of a banner ("obstructing justice," the cop said as he shoved Mike Peterson onto the corner of a car's hood) and another when he commented on the cops' resemblance to Nazis. In one incident, the cops wrenched a child out of a demonstrator's hands during an arrest. This set off the crowd and, within seconds,



## Radical news in review

the scene escalated scarily close to physical violence. The potential certainly existed and, in this circumstance would have been disastrous. Cooler heads prevailed and the situation defused as quickly as it had arisen. Shortly after, the last of the roof occupiers was removed and, for that day, the action came to an end.

### Arrest is Only the Beginning

That night 60 of us enjoyed the gracious hospitality of Buffalo and Moonstone at their spacious cabin near Tonasket. This local show of support for us "outsiders" was actually quite the norm. Throughout the Rendezvous and the action, the local community offered constant encouragement and played crucial roles in the event's success. Though generally conservative and redneck, the Okanogan Highlands region is home to a sizeable alternative community. Most are back-to-the-landers whose closeness to the land lends a sense of personal commitment to protecting it. As this area becomes more organized and active it will likely become a regular hotspot for direct action.

By the middle of the next day, two had bailed out due to prior commitments and one person had been released without being charged or even booked. The other 22-15 men, 7 women—had still not given names. All refused to eat as well. The support crew relayed messages via large sign boards between the windows of the men's and women's cells. The prisoners wrote messages in return on scrap paper or with toothpaste on the windows. With our contact phone 6 miles away in a cafe, this provided the only effective way to relay information on minute by minute developments.

Over the next day-and-a-half we put that county through an ordeal they'll never forget. Both those in and out of jail became a hard, prickly, "politically indigestible" obstruction to the smooth function of the system. We demonstrated clearly that the functioning of hierarchical systems depends on the support, cooperation and obedience of both the organization's functionaries as well as those under its heel. Most importantly, we proved that this cooperation can be withdrawn! And it can be withdrawn in a thousand small ways which, together, can bring even the most monolithic structure to a grinding halt. An example worth noting occurred the second day. Unable to legally remove us from the courthouse lawn where we were a constant thorn, the sheriff and the jailer both ordered the groundskeeper to turn on the sprinklers. Out of support for our actions (so he later confided to us) he feigned mechanical malfunction and refused. The almighty, omnipotent will of authority was effectively thwarted...by a gardener!

After two days of court appearances, noncooperation and negotiations, an agreement was reached. In exchange for our cooperation, all arrestees received equal treatment—though offenses differed (including one "gross misdemeanor" carrying substantially larger penalty)—and were released on \$50 forfeitable bail. This amounts to a \$50 payoff in exchange for dropped charges with no additional fines, probation or record of conviction. (To place this in perspective, for a minor banner hanging in Olympia last year, one Washington EF! activist went through four court appearances, 10 days in jail, 80 hours of community service and a year of probation with 80 days hanging over his head.)

Immediately following everyone's release we went to a nearby park for pizza, beer and a post action evaluation. The discussion which ensued further indicated the qualitative growth that the radical ecology movement is experiencing. Never before had we carried out such a thorough dissection of events. Ideas were freely shared, effects analyzed and dif-



Protest at the Okanogan National Forest Supervisor's Office

ferent viewpoints conveyed. This is where we learn!

One common point of discussion was the media coverage, which had been spectacular but (typically) devoid of content. Many felt the action diminished because of this. The mistake here is to confuse the media-generated **appearance** of opposition with the **actual effects**. We learned much here and the Forest Service and cops were sent a clear message: The opposition is no longer docile. These are

very real results of our efforts and to this extent we can claim to have been "effective." In this case the media simply didn't matter. The controversy does, however, demonstrate the importance of tailoring our actions to achieve certain specified goals. For example, next time, if the purpose is to communicate information or forest issues to the public, we will not want such a confrontative scene. On the other hand, if maximizing down time and cost are the goals.... If we are to increase our

effectiveness, evaluations and discussion must become a regular part of all direct action!

Nearly everyone who left that park headed toward another action, somewhere. Savage spirits are stirring and the natives are restless. May this be only the beginning!

*This article originally appeared in the Washington Earth First! Newsletter #10 (July 1988), POB 2962, Bellingham, WA. 98227.*

## Notes from the California Earth First! Rendezvous

With a few misgivings, but encouragement from Earth First! friends, I travelled up the coast of California this fall to the saddle of Offut Mountain in the Marble Mountain Wilderness to check out a regional gathering held over the weekend of September 16-19th. My companion and I wondered (as sympathizers with the Fifth Estate's critiques of Deep Ecology and Earth First!) whether we'd just be out of place, outnumbered by the strict adherents to biocentric ideology. We were somewhat pleasantly surprised.

We were taken aback by the initial greeting—a Forest Service officer blocked the road up the mountain with his truck to warn of the "fire danger." And even more surprised, when we reached the saddle of Offut Mountain, by the 6 Forest Service cops running around the campsite with clubs, pistols, and with camera (with telephoto lens) lens clicking. However, we were among the early arrivals, and as more (of the eventually 200 to 225) people continued to arrive, the Freddie's (Forest Service) took on a lower profile.

One of the biggest surprises of the rendezvous was the large anarchist presence—possibly one third of the crowd. Women made up between one third to a half of the gathering, and there were quite a few children running around.

Those attending proved to be a very mixed lot, reminding me of a "typical" anarchist gathering, except for the lack of punks and others on the more outrageous end of the spectrum. And, while it was more centrally structured and controlled than most anarchist events, most of the group's practice and dynamics were also reminiscent of anarchist gatherings I've been to.

Saturday's workshops included: Tree (spur) climbing, Offshore Oil, Bureau of Land Management, the Forest Service's local "Go Road" project, Ritual, Talking to loggers, the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World), and Men's and Women's meetings followed by a "coed" group meeting. Sunday's workshops included a planning meeting for a "Women's consumer action," Deep ecology (with Deep ecology ideologist Bill Devall), City Ecology, Tree spiking, Sea Shepherds Society on Tuna/Dolphin, and planning for the Monday morning

actions.

There was much to much happening to comment on most of it, or even much of it. I attended only a small sampling of the workshops. Many were scheduled simultaneously, and I took off a couple times to go swimming in the Salmon River at the base of the mountain.

My first impressions were of a fairly incoherent bunch of folks tied together mainly by a "single-issue" mentality calling for the preservation of wilderness. Anything else depended pretty much on who you were talking to. There was little of the overt kowtowing to the Dave Foreman/Ed Abbey line of the Earth First! journal, but there was an awful lot of defensiveness involved whenever the subject came up at all critically. It seemed as if the dominant response was one of wanting both to identify with them and dissociate oneself from them at the same time. And this led to many problems in communication. Everyone seemed ready to admit that "they may be 'rednecks,' or 'racist,' or whatever, but they're still OK people!" And this led to an almost steadfast refusal of most Earth Firsters to take any kind of critical stand, much less a publicly critical stand. There seemed to be a huge avoidance to even talking about Earth First's organizational problems, much less to dealing with them (largely the problem of the Earth First! journal's often reactionary editorial line, and its rigidly unrepresentative editorial control). The standard evasion was the comment, "Earth First! is a movement, not an organization." As if this made any difference in reality.

And in case you're wondering where all the anarchists present stood on this point, it seemed to me that about half didn't identify themselves as Earth Firsters per se precisely because of this problem, while the other half seemed to be just as willing to overlook it as most of the rest. I think this much greater awareness (that a problem even exists) among the anarchists present is indicative of the more sophisticated understanding most anarchists have of the perils of organizational practice, hierarchical tendencies, and authority. However, it was disappointing that even more anarchists weren't able to take a critical stance.

Otherwise, there seemed to be little explicit, shared "theory" beyond "wilderness good, logging bad," with a touch of spiritualism thrown in here and there. In fact, people in general seemed fairly anti-theoretical. Action was the strong point, as it has been all along with Earth First's media image.

Monday's actions began with long, early drives to the Pacific coast where the major lumber mills are located. Despite an almost continuous drizzle (with an occasional shower), about 60 to 80 people showed up for the first of what was to be a series of three quick actions.

The first was a temporary blockade of the Simpson Paper Company's Humbolt Pulp Plant 10 miles outside of Arcata, CA. For about 20 minutes the entrance was blockaded by people and banners. Logging trucks backed up along the highway, and the lead trucker, unwilling to halt across the road, blocked the entire highway with his truck when he unsuccessfully tried to drive it through the blockade. Spirits were high, and it seemed like it took forever for the cops to respond. When a Sheriff's car finally did arrive, everyone was already agreed to leave before arrests started so that we could meet at the next action a half-hour down the highway. Unfortunately, this meant that people left a little too soon, abandoning the blockade before the deputy even had time to back up the trucks blocking the highway, much less begin to deal with us! But the event was fun, successful as far as it went and no one was arrested.

The other two actions didn't come off as well. The second site (the Eel River mill) was too hard for most people to find, so it was eventually abandoned for the third site (the Pacific Lumber Company's Scotia Mills, complete with its own company-owned town!). Here an "indictment" for contributing to the greenhouse effect was read at the company office, followed by a short circular march and a brief, symbolic blockade.

Tactically, there should probably have only been two actions planned in order for the practicalities to work out more effectively, but the idea behind a strategy of protest which pushes the limits, but doesn't ask for needless arrests, seems well worth imitating. by Lev

# Alternative media review

## Alternative Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

**COMMUNIST BULLETIN** #13 (Box C.B.G., Boomtown Books, 167 King St., Aberdeen, U.K.) is one of the more interesting publications to come out of the "left communist" milieu which "traces its origins to the left factions which split from the decaying Third International, in particular, the German, Italian and Dutch Lefts." These council communists are still largely clinging to many of the more obsolete concepts of Marxism like the "dictatorship of the proletariat," the central role of the "working class" qua working class ("a collective, exploited class without property of its own to defend") as the "only class capable of carrying out the communist revolution," and the absolute centrality of economic categories for the understanding of radical struggles. Yet, they are cognizant of the reactionary role played by modern trade unions, parliamentarism, national liberation struggles, and struggles for state power. This issue (Spring, 1988) includes a fairly sound strategic assessment of the U.S. military buildup during the Reagan years, accounts of recent Scottish & British class struggles, an analysis of last year's stock market "crash," and some interesting debate and commentary on the problems facing particular left communist groups as well as the milieu in general. Copies are 50p(ence), but you should probably double that to include overseas postage.

**THE TORCH/LA ANTORCHA** Vol. 15, #5,6,7 & **Rage!** #1(?) (P.O. Box 1288, NYC, NY. 10118) show the continuing evolution of the Revolutionary Socialist League in its apparent repudiation of at least some aspects of its Marxist-Leninist-Trotskyist past. Issue #5 includes news reports on South Africa and El Salvador, a "Letter from Polish Anarchists," a critique of pacifism, and a reprint of a "draft statement of principles and organizational structure prepared for a meeting of anarchists in Atlanta" by "people from Back Room Anarchist Books" (Minneapolis) last January. Issue #6 includes a report on the 1988 Toronto anarchist gathering, a report on the May strikes in Poland, an assessment of the chances of success for Gorbachev's reforms in the Soviet Union, and Ron Taber's criticisms of the "draft statement" by Back Room Anarchist Books published in the previous issue. Issue #7 includes another report on the Polish strike wave, as well as reports on the recent California hospital workers' strike and the Tompkins Square riot in New York. Of particular note is an article by Wayne Price (revealing a residual attachment to leftist organizational myths) advocating "pro-organization anarchism." He maintains that "Logically pro-organization anarchists should be in favor of steps toward a continental anarchist organization," but he does not say what kind of steps, how they should be taken or why they are necessary, much less relevant, now. However, a somewhat troubling development, which may answer some of these questions, appears to have surfaced with the publishing of a new paper, **Rage!**, using the facilities the Revolutionary Socialist League. **Rage!** is allegedly "published by the MAYDAY Network of Anarchists, a loose association of anti-authoritarian groups and individuals from across North America." However, in actuality, it was most certainly published by a small group of people (including the R.S.L.) whose desires to speak in the name of a continental movement suggest political ambitions (and a political "gang" mentality) likely to be at variance with anarchist values. Only time will tell, but I suspect this attempt by a small group to impose a public voice on the MAYDAY Network will soon result in a furious debate over the possibilities of anarchist cooperation with Marxists. Third Class subscriptions are \$4/year (9 issues).

**UTNE READER** #28,29 & 30 (Subscriber Services, POB 1974, Marion, OH. 43306-1974), which claims to reprint "The best of the alternative press," has noticeably improved some of its selections in these latest three issues—just after I had panned the contents of its previous issue in this column of the last **Anarchy** (#16). Issue #28 amazingly includes Bob Black's powerful essay, "The Abolition of Work"—although it is was somewhat gutted by **Utne's** editing—as well as a couple of somewhat interesting essays on channelling by Michael Crichton and Martin Gardner. Though, unfortunately, these are still leavened with a lot of rather boring dredge. Issue #29 is still a little better, with a focus on sex—both pro- and anti-sexual, and pro- and anti-monogamy essays. Best of all, this issue includes Noam Chomsky's essay "Propaganda, American-style," which shouldn't be missed. And issue #30 actually even acknowledges the fact that there is "some evidence" that an anarchist movement may exist in one of its articles, "Anarchy in the USA (and Canada)," though there would apparently be no evidence for its existence if it weren't for the fact that "young anarchists and police" have clashed "in three different cities during the past few months." This issue also contains a somewhat interesting collection of articles on the black "underclass" in the U.S., and a better collection of articles and excerpts on 12-step programs for various problems which have been labelled "addictions" (groups like Alcoholics Anonymous). This section even includes a passable article by Chaz Bufe reprinted from **The Match!**, called "AA: Guilt and god for the gullible." Unfortunately, the issue winds up with some simplistic paeans to mininationalisms under the label of "devolution" by people like Thomas Martin ("Nationalism is capable of terrible perversions but it can also be a positive force.") and Kirkpatrick Sale, from whom we learn that "a number of anarchists" are part of a "free-floating decentralist movement," which seems to imply that he thinks there are significant numbers of anarcho-centralists running around somewhere. Subscriptions are \$24/year (6 issues).

**GREEN SYNTHESIS** #28 (L.E.D., POB 1858, San Pedro, CA. 90733) continues to change its stripes with its new issue, a new name and new 16-page offset-print format. Now, as its name suggests, it has become a singularly "green," synthesis of "social ecology, deep ecology, bioregionalism, ecofeminism, appro-

priate or Green technology, permaculture, Green politics, post-patriarchal society, Green unionism, Green cities and communities, decentralization, sustainable and regenerative agriculture, peace and anti-nuclear movements, Green spirituality, Green organizing, non-violence, etc." This issue marks a significant improvement in appearance over its old hard-to-read mimeo format, though the content it communicates still suffers (as do Greens and leftists in general) from an abysmal fear of reasoned analysis and criticism (especially self-criticism), such that we are often treated to hypocritical denunciations of criticism which refuse to admit their own critical nature as they attempt to suppress any too-controversial communication from unwanted sources. This issue contains letters (and excerpts of articles) from wounded deep ecologists (and supporters) confusedly "attacking" Murray Bookchin's and George Bradford's critiques of deep ecology, while simultaneously decrying this type of "attack" in general! For the most part, the deep ecologists refuse to deal with the substance of the major criticisms that have been made against them, though George Sessions at least has the integrity to renounce "provocative misanthropic statements" made by "some of [Earth First's] members." (Let's not mention any names though!) The deep ecologists are followed by a long letter which fairly convincingly criticizes the tactics of Dana Beal and his Yippie campaigns. Mark Kinzley adds "Five Questions for Green Parties" which takes an implicitly anti-political-party position. And Bob Spivey gives a report on the Institute for Social Ecology's summer session he attended. Subscriptions are \$10/2 years (8 issues).

### ALSO RECEIVED:

**Amok Third Dispatch** (Dept. AA, POB 875112, Los Angeles, CA. 90087) is a "100 page, heavily illustrated book catalog...devoted to the extremes of information in print—unflinching looks at mayhem, virus, and decay; dissections of today's global power structure; hate-filled rants and lyrical paeans to oblivion; sexual impulses spinning out of control; the tactics of individual subversion and autonomy, and much more." Each section of the catalog features excerpts from writers like William Burroughs to von Krafft-Ebbing. Many anarchist and related titles are included in this unusual collection. Worth taking a look at \$3.00/copy.

**Apaeos** #15 (Kathe and John Burt,

960 SW Jefferson Ave., Corvallis, Oregon 97333) is a "reader-written forum about sex, erotica, relationships (het, lesbian, gay), nudism, turn-ons, disease & rape prevention, etc. For sharing knowledge, feelings, questions, stories, drawings. Ready-to-copy pages published unedited. Offered to adults only." Well worth checking out. For a sample issue send \$2 and an SASE.

**Contact! the Newsletter of the Humanist Fellowship of San Diego** (POB 87662, San Diego, CA. 92138), is a small (6pp) effort at reaching mostly the local membership in San Diego. The June 15, 1988 issue includes a copy of the "Humanist Resolution on Circumcision, Excision and Incision," which denounces all forms of circumcision and genital mutilation on the basis of the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights." Also lists local humanist events, meetings, etc. No price listed.

**Time To Unite** #14 (POB 6188, Fullerton, CA. 92634-6188) is a 24-page, hard-core zine featuring mostly political comment, focussing especially on animal liberation. Free, send \$.50 in postage.

**Hellbound and Determined** #1 (Torky Koenings, POB 4016, Big Bear Lake, CA. 92315) is a 16-page diatribe criticizing the "adult contemporary post-punk jerk off fanzine society," a "non-sequential list of reasons why that scene sucks as bad as it does, why our society sucks as bad as it does, and why you suck as bad as you do." \$1.00.

**No Bullshit** #5 (G.S.M., POB 1095, Kokomo, IN. 46901) is subtitled "A Newsletter for Political Junkies." This March 18, 1988 issue is an 8-page xerox commentary on current news items and their mass media coverage. It is projected to come out "almost weekly" for the duration of 1988. No price given. Send an S.A.S.E. for a sample.

**Pagans for Peace** #37 (POB 6531, Sta. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5W 1X4) is an 8-page newsletter which includes an announcement of the birth of its publisher's son, a short report on pagan activities at the Toronto Anarchist Gathering/Unconvention, and a longer "how-to" article on starting your own coven. Subscriptions are \$15/year (13 issues).

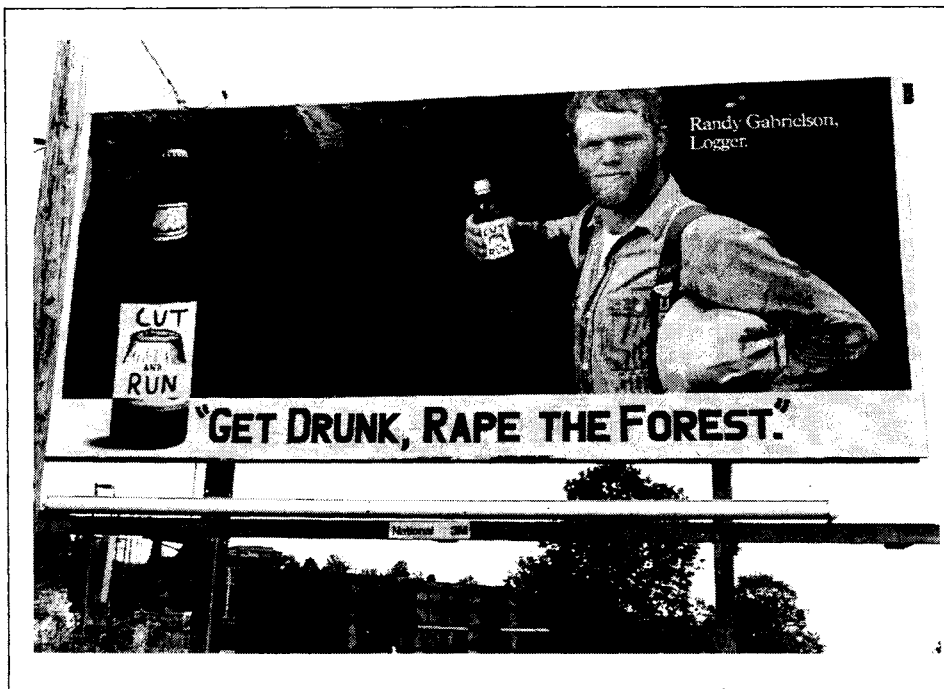
**MSRRT Newsletter** Sept. 1988 & Oct. 1988 (4645 Columbus Ave. S., Minneapolis, MN. 55407) is a publication of the Minnesota Social Responsibilities Round Table listing local events and including short reviews of periodicals received. Send a \$.45 SASE for a copy.

**Anderson Valley Advertiser** Vol. 36, No. 34 (POB 459, Boonville, CA. 95415) is a lively little commercial weekly published in Mendocino County, California. I normally would never have seen a paper like this. But Lawrence Livermore, in his excellent zine, **The Lookout!**, has repeatedly given its editor/publisher Bruce Anderson pats on his back for his coverage of the local news scene along the California coast. So I picked up a copy in the Laytonville food co-op while returning from this year's California Earth First! Rendezvous. And sure enough, it's gutsy enough to make it interesting even to those who don't live in Mendocino County—an unusual accomplishment for what one would usually have to expect to be a boring paper. It's a must for anyone who lives in its home area. Subscriptions are \$22/year (52 issues) in Mendocino County and \$27/year elsewhere in the U.S.

**Another Point of View** #3 (906 N. Evergreen Ave., Arl. Hts., IL. 60004) is a punk zine with information on the current boycotts of McDonalds, Coca Cola and General Electric. Subscriptions \$1/issue.

**Bad Newz** #9 (c/o Sarris Bookmarketing, 125 E. 23rd St. #300, NYC, NY. 10010) is a 54-page punk zine with lots of coverage of its editor Bob Z's recent run-in with the New York Sanitation Dept. (fined thousands of dollars for allegedly

Continued on page 15



Billboard subversion by Stumps Suck! in Bellingham, Washington.

# International anarchist news



Before the police attack--view from behind the barricade.

## Murderer of Kaltezas goes free Anarchists riot in Athens

During the first week in October riots erupted in Athens, Greece when a demonstration was called after the freeing of a cop who had killed a 15 year-old anarchist, Mihalis Kaltezas, during the November 17 riots in Athens in 1985.

The case finally came to court after being postponed for three years. The proceedings took three days. Nobody was allowed in the courtroom except the man's parents and police. The cop was convicted to 2 and a half years, but he appealed the sentence. The courts then set him free, reducing his sentence to a year and a half, which he will probably be allowed to pay off in fines. He will probably not serve any time in prison.

On Saturday, October 1st, a demonstration called by anarchist groups took place outside the Polytechnic in Athens where Kaltezas had been killed. Immediately after a few announcements and the chanting of slogans, people moved slowly down to the main street outside the Polytechnic and blockaded it with barricades. The police did not intervene for 2 to 3 hours after the barricades were built. Then, riot police and tear gas were used as police tried, at first unsuccessfully, to move the demonstrators back inside the Polytechnic. The demonstrators fought back with rocks and molotovs.

The demonstrators were eventually forced back into the Polytechnic, where there is still political asylum in Greece (as in all Greek universities). The demonstrators occupied the Polytechnic for 2 days in continued protest of the release of Kaltezas's murderer. From within the Polytechnic, the demonstrators declared that if police moved in on them, they would defend themselves. And after hours of negotiations with the deans and student unions (who have to give official consent before asylum can be broken by the police in Greece), the Vice President and the Minister of Justice went to the Polytechnic to negotiate with its occupiers. The occupation ended on the evening of October 2nd and no arrests were made.

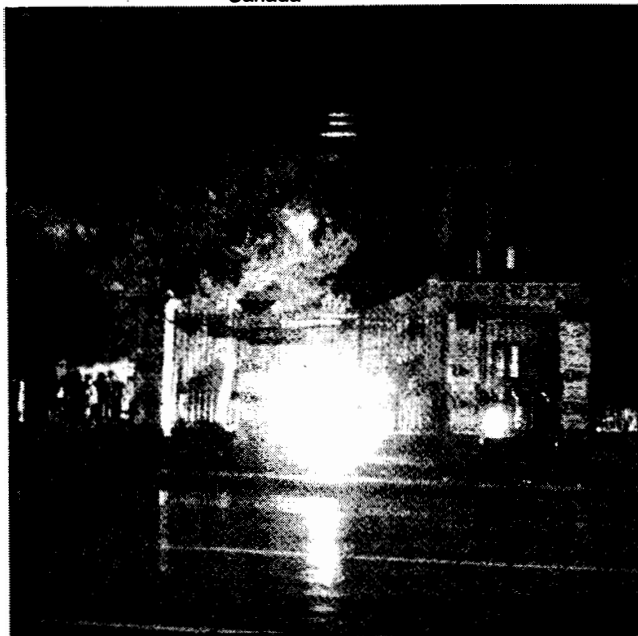
The next day a large demonstration was called by a student union, several leftist groups and an anarchist group. Again there was a large march. This time the demonstrators attempted to move into the Parliament buildings to deliver a petition to Parliament, but were again confronted by riot police and special commando troops using tear gas and smoke bombs. The

demonstrators again responded with molotovs and rocks. Numerous demonstrators were beaten by police, but only two were detained briefly. A few cops were also injured.

For four days the issue of police violence, along with the anarchists' response to it, dominated discussion in the mainstream Greek press. Greece has an extensive history of police abuse and State terrorism, most notably during the rule of the recent colonels' regime which had been installed through a coup with the help of U.S. C.I.A. involvement. As a result, many people came out in support of the anarchists' demonstrations of protest in this incident.

A further demonstration on October 4th was suppressed. Anarchists on motor-bikes met at Exarchia Square, a center of anarchist activity in Athens, with the intention of going to the prison where the four anarchists who had been arrested during earlier demonstrations were being held. But three to four hundred riot police and special forces blocked the way to the prison. No arrests were made, although two women were briefly detained and beaten by police. The trial of the four anarchists will take place in November. More mobilizations by the anarchist community are expected during the trials.

Source: Ecomedia Bulletin  
POB 915, Stn. F.  
Toronto, Ontario M4Y 2N9  
Canada



A fire at the gate of the Polytechnic in Athens.

### Letter from Greece

## Disturb@nce

Dear comrades,

I would like to thank you for sending us the 16th issue of *Anarchy*. I also would like to write some "things" about a letter (on page 31--by D.G. from Brooklyn) about anarchism and Greece. Although I have not read the essay about the Greek movement...: The first Greek anarchist group was formed in 1869 at Athens during a riot against the king. Members of this group were: Plotinos Rodokayatis (excuse me D.G., but this is his correct name), Emmanuil Daudoglu and his wife Maria, Pavlos Argiriadis, Amilcare Chipriani (Italian) and some others.

Maria Daudoglu and Argiriadis, 9 years later, were members of the Paris Commune. Maria died during it. Argiriadis was a member of the Central Revolutionary Committee of the Commune. After 1871 he became the editor of the anarchist review, *Almanac de la question sociale*.

About Rodokayatis now: He was born in Athens (14 October 1828) and he studied medical science at Berlin and at Vienna (Austria). It was there that he got in touch with the European revolutionary circles. In 1858 he published his first book in Berlin. He came back to Greece and participated in the 1869 riot. After that he went to Mexico to the city of Vera Cruz and he translated and published the first books of Proudhon in Latin America. Oh, I think that that's enough for the past. D.G. from Brooklyn, if you're more interested than that you may write.

Now, about the present. For three days (24-26th of September) Athens has been burning. The Polytechnic University was occupied by 400 anarchists on the afternoon of the 24th, after the trial of Melistas. Melistas is the cop who murdered (17 November 1985) the 15-year-old comrade Mihalis Kaltezas (during an attack with "molotovs" against a police-bus). Melistas, according to the judgement was "not guilty."

After the occupation of the P.U. we started making barricades mainly with...Hi-fi sets, TV's, videos, washing machines, computers (the area around the P.U. is full of stores selling all these) and also attacking with molotovs banks and government buildings. After about a half hour some fire-engine-cars (excuse me but I don't know their English name--I hope that the name I gave them is correct) tried to attack us but we managed to keep them away. After that the police attacked, also using tear gas. After that we left the barricades (we set them on fire first) and went inside (in the yard or buildings) of the P.U. The fight lasted for hours (until 3-4AM of the 25th).

25th of September: The morning of

the 25th was "quiet." The police left an "open road" hoping that the occupation would be finished. Actually, some comrades came out, others came in. The occupiers' council decided that the occupation should finish. We started talking with the Dean of the P.U. and with the Minister of Justice (he is No.9 of the government after the Prime Minister) asking for guarantees that no comrades would be arrested (tens of cops were injured and the damages were costing about 100,000,000 drachmas--a worker's monthly salary is 50,000). They said "yes" but we hadn't any reason to believe them, so we started organizing a demonstration which would pass beside the P.U. that the occupiers could safely join. Hundreds of comrades started gathering at the area of the P.U. About 8PM the occupiers came out under the protection of more than 1,000 anarchists, and all together we started the demonstration. The agreement with the minister was that the occupiers would go to the Book Festival (which was held at a park near the P.U.) and mix with the people. But when we reached the Book Festival the police attacked even the people who were only there for the festival. A "guerrilla war" started again as the 1,000 comrades became tens of small groups (10-20-30 people together) and the fight was spread all over the center of Athens (downtown).

26th of September: The National Students' Union of Greece (E.F.E.E.) called a demonstration against "police brutality" and against the judgement about Melistas. The main power within E.F.E.E. are the communists. In the Central Council of E.F.E.E. are 8 communists, 7 conservatives, 3 social democrats, 2 leftists and 1 Euro-communist. The 8+2+1 voted for the demonstration. About 10,000 participated at the demonstration and among them 600-700 anarchists. This day something happened that I will never forget. About 250 comrades tried to get in the...parliament. Police-buses attacked us at high speed and we answered with molotovs. Molotovs just in front of parliament; fantastic! The police then attacked us with tear gas and we "retreated" to Panepistimiu Ave., the most central street of Athens. All the banks of Panepistimiu (about 20) were smashed. A hunter's shop was smashed, too, and a lot of comrades took knives and small guns. The fight lasted for hours.

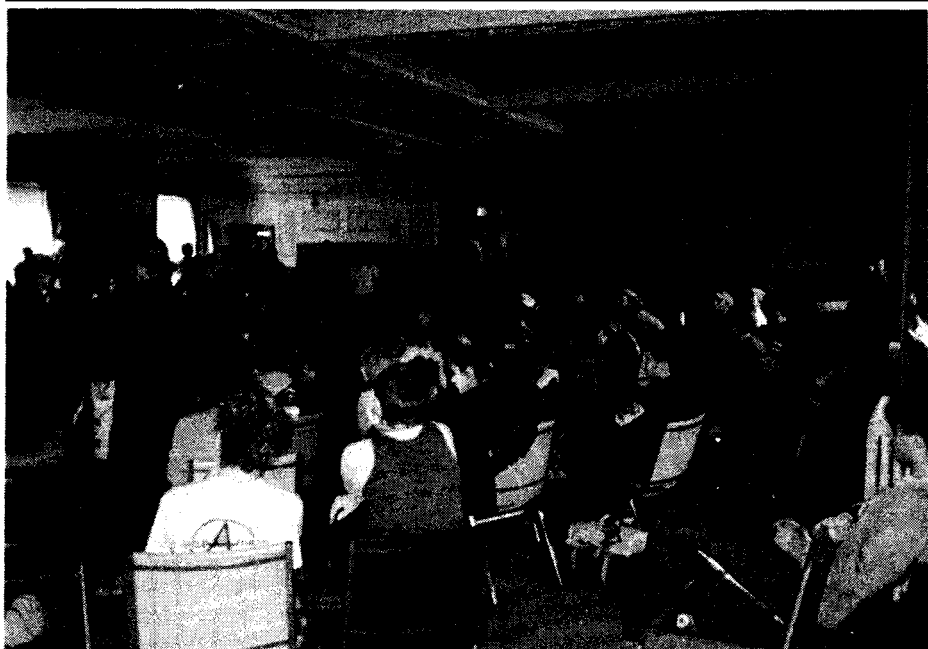
Now we are ready for the 17th of November anniversary. It is the day of the 1973 riot against the military dictatorship. During the riot about 50 students and workers were murdered. Since then, the 17th of November has become the day of resistance. Almost every year the fight starts again between anarchists and the police. On the 17th of November 1980 two comrades were murdered: Kumis and Karelopulu. On 17 November 1985 Mihalis Kaltezas was murdered. On 17th November 1986 4 cops were "arrested" and disarmed. (Editor's note: They were "arrested" and disarmed by anarchists.) On 17 November 1987 the area around the American embassy became a battlefield as the biggest demonstration I have ever seen in Athens (7-8,000 comrades) attacked the cops who were protecting the embassy.

Also, on the 21st of November there will be the trial of Vogiaji and Bukovalas. They are accused of being members of "Anti-State Struggle," an armed group. A lot of other comrades will be tried during 1989: 13 comrades who were arrested during the demonstrations which took place in Athens after the Chernobyl "accident," 37 comrades who were arrested on the 18th of November 1985, 130(!) comrades who were arrested when J.M. Le

Continued on next page



# International anarchist news



Opening morning plenary session at the Toronto anarchist gathering.

## The anarchist scene

This column will attempt to help our readers keep up on some of the myriad projects, publications, and gatherings throughout the diverse and dispersed anarchist scene in North America. If you have an event or project to announce, let us know about it and we'll try to include it here....

**The Work Resister's Handbook** is being assembled by John Zerzan and Morgan Feralchilde, and they want your contribution. "True stories of work resistance, how-to-do-scams, and practical hints of consumption cures are all needed." Send to John at POB 11331, Eugene, OR. 97440 ASAP.

New bookstores carrying anarchist and related publications are popping up: **Primal Plunge** is open at 107 Brighton Avenue in Allston, MA. 02134 and the **Memory Hole Bookshop** is open in Syracuse (write to them at POB 906, University Station, Syracuse, NY. 13210 to get their street address). **Everyday Books** of Wilimantic, CT. also has a new location at 120 Main Street.

A story of minor interest on (noted anarchist) Noam Chomsky's exclusion from access to being published in the mainstream press appeared in the October 1988 issue of **Mother Jones**. The article is entitled "Noam is an Island; Why is one of America's most brilliant men treated like a kook?" Unfortunately it's not very well done, raising more questions about Chomsky's exclusion than it answers. Worse, it implicitly impugns his credibility by dragging out old (and mostly baseless) charges without adequately revealing some of the real reasons for the suppression of media access for his work—most notably his outspoken criticism of

the bloody and racist policies of the Israeli state.

In the November/December issue of another left-leaning periodical, **Utne Reader** (see the "Alternative press review" in this issue), Brian Ahlberg writes on "Anarchy in the USA (and Canada)," while Jay Walljasper takes on the "Social ecology vs. deep ecology" conflict. Ahlberg thinks that "Clashes between young anarchists and police in three different cities during the past few months offers (sic) some evidence that a new North American anarchist 'movement' now exists," bringing us a level of analysis one might more expect from the mainstream press than from a professedly "alternative" publication. The article goes on to reveal that "Approximately a thousand committed, active anarchists are part of this new North American movement—a majority of whom are between the ages of 15 and 30. Drawn largely from young people mobilized by the twin threat of military and ecological holocaust, and to a lesser degree from the disaffected mainstream protest movements and the hierarchical Marxist left, new anarchists seem driven more by desire to live anti-authoritarian lives than by commitment to anti-statist ideology. The organized groups are concentrated in San Francisco, New York City, Minneapolis, and Toronto, with some activity going on in other cities such as Atlanta, Albany, Philadelphia and Lawrence, Kansas."

Jay Walljasper, on the other hand, pays homage to the incoherence of Kirkpatrick Sale's homilies on "nature" as he joins the other voices in the "alternative" press which seem intent on confusing the issues in the debate over "deep ecology." For example, lumping the criticisms of Detroit's "anarchist paper **Fifth Estate**" with those of the "**Socialist Review**", the Toronto anarchist journal **Kick It Over**, the British Greens journal **Green Line**, and the leftist newsweekly **The Guardian**, Walljasper claims that they all "attacked deep ecologists for their preference in ponder-

ing spiritual issues rather than getting down to real political work in the real world." I suppose this must mean that for Walljasper the **Fifth Estate's** deft criticism of deep ecology's neo-Malthusianism must be an "attack" on the "pondering" of a "spiritual issue." But seriously, it would have helped if Jay had tried reading these publications before writing about them. He claims to "fear all the attention this debate has received in recent months will pressure people in the movement to sign on with one side or the other." [Horrors! You mean people might have to think about it all and take a position!] Because "That's the same sort of limited thinking that created the environmental crisis in the first place (it's either nuclear power or shivering in the dark!) and that has hampered the effectiveness of the left through the years (you're either anti-communist or pro-Stalin!)." But by posing the debate over deep ecology in this "limited" way, Walljasper merely reinforces the current inertia of the "left," which tends to abhor any real debate of fundamental issues anyway. What is all too obviously missing in the milieu from which any genuinely radical movements will have to grow is any great concern over the need for open communication and rigorous critique. It is the absence of these factors, and not the media attention given to this debate, that poses the greatest dangers.

A new French translation of Fredy Perlman's **Anti-Semitism and the Beirut Pogrom** has been published by the Interrogations group in Paris under the title of **Antisemitisme et pogrome de Beyrouth**. Copies are available from Interrogations, c/o I.S., B.P. 243, 75564 Paris Cedex 12, France. Write to them for details.

A short article prepared by the Black Rose Collective, covering "The State of Anarchism in New England" appeared in the October 1988 issue of **Peacework**. Write to Black Rose Lectures, Box 2684, Jamaica Plain, MA. 02130 for a copy and send an SASE.

For those with alcohol problems who don't care for the Christian-based dogmas of Alcoholics Anonymous and similar 12-step groups, there is a new alternative available, **A.A.A.R.G.I.**, short for American Atheists' Addiction Recovery Groups. With members and groups now in 83 cities and 49 states, **A.A.A.R.G.I.** claims to be concerned "with saving lives, not souls (what-ever those are)." You can contact **A.A.A.R.G.I.** at POB 6120, Denver, CO. 80206-0120.

Bill Meyers wants to organize a direct action campaign to **Stop CFC production**

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now. Chloroflourocarbons (CFC's) are apparently responsible for the ongoing depletion of the ozone layer of the earth's atmosphere, yet despite this they are still being produced. If you're interested in direct action to shut down U.S. production facilities (the U.S. reportedly produces one third of the world's total), contact Bill at POB 8362, San Diego, CA. 92102).

The **Syndicat des Eleves** (c/o Librairie Alternative, 2035 Boul. St. Laurent, Montréal, Québec, Canada) is a clearinghouse for any information concerning youth/children's liberation. The **Syndicat** defines youth/children's liberation as: "Being opposed to the many cultural forms of children's and youth's oppression: the family (as we know it), ageism, sexism, racism, sexphobia, (sexphobia meaning the incredible fear that we have of children's sexuality). Being opposed to the many structural forms of children's and youth's oppression: schools (including most alternative schools), psychiatric hospitals, orphanages, reform schools, youth detention centers and all laws. Being opposed to lots of other things that are too many to list...."

**Max Anger** has proposed the formation of a new **Discussion Group** whose "principle inspirations include: The writings of Karl Marx, the S.I. and the Italian and German Lefts; communism, the urban Russian revolution, Paris Commune, and the possibilities for revolution in the present. Subjects also considered important... include: Women's liberation, Black liberation, ecology, the Mexican Revolution; Italy 1969, the Makhnovists, Rosa Luxemburg, progressive libertinism, Romanticism, Dada, Surrealism...." The discussion group will involve writing, presentation and dialogue by each member and cannot include mere spectators." For more information, write to: Box 3305, Oakland, CA. 94609.

## Disturb@nce

Continued from page 7

Pen (the French fascist leader) visited Athens, 19 comrades from Salonica, and a lot of others.

The bulletin I send you is **DISTURB@NCE**, an anarchist paper from the eastern area of Athens. This is the first issue. The poster is about the students' elections.

I think that that's enough for now (five pages!!). I hope you will keep in contact, I also hope that you are able to send the issue with the essay about anarchism in Greece.

ANAPXIA KAI ZEH  
(that's: "Anarchy and life")  
**DISTURB@NCE**  
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## Without Borders; 1989 San Francisco Anarchist Gathering

People at the Toronto anarchist gathering of this last summer decided that the gathering next year would take place in San Francisco. At this point the final dates have not been chosen, though they are tentatively set for seven days around August 1st, 1989. To ensure that the upcoming gathering doesn't become exclusively designed and executed by elements of the San Francisco community, there will be a planning meeting held in Philadelphia on the weekend of January 7th and 8th (contact **Wooden Shoe Books and Records**, 112 S. 20th St., Philadelphia, PA 19103 for more information on this), and the San Francisco host group is circulating a survey (copies can be obtained from **Without Borders**, 1369 Haight St., S.F., CA. 94117).

Further announcements will appear in **Anarchy** as plans develop.



# Anarchist media review

## Anarchist Press Review

compiled by Lev Chernyi

**\*SEMIOTEXT[E] USA #13** (522 Philosophy Hall, Columbia University, NYC, NY. 10027) has proven to be both somewhat provocative, yet also somewhat disappointing. After previous issues set a relatively high standard for production and content, the USA issue just doesn't impress me as much as I would have hoped. Maybe it's because I've already seen many of the contents elsewhere (the whole issue seems to be constructed of reprints), maybe because there's nothing very meaty in any of the contributions—it's more like a smorgasbord of rad-cult tidbits. Then again, maybe my expectations for *Semiotext[e]* are too high; a collection like this anywhere else would probably elicit exclamations of pleasure. High points of the issue include several pieces which have earlier appeared in *Anarchy* (though we didn't submit any of our own stuff for consideration)—Bob Black's "The Abolition of Work," the "Just say 'Fuck Off'" subversion of a *Mad Magazine* comic by Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous (as well as their "The Enchantment of Nuclear Destruction" and other stuff), a New Rage graphic, Feral Ranter's "Ten Theses Toward the End of the Flesh-Spirit Dichotomy," Carole Nicksin's "Barbie and Tammy; the Real Story," and J. Gallagher's "A Theology of Liberation?" Also included are interesting reprints from Jean Baudrillard, William S. Burroughs, Jay Kinney, Hakim Bey, Bob McGlynn, etc., etc. The collection as a whole is well worth picking up if you're not

already overly exposed to the usual sources for this stuff. The single copy price is \$8.95 (add \$1.50 postage) for this 352-page blockbuster, and subscriptions are only \$16/3 (irregular) issues.

**\*RESISTANCE; Documents and Analyses of the Illegal Front #11** (Friends of Durruti, POB 790, Stn A, Vancouver, BC Canada, V6C 2N6) is an irregular tabloid which at times presents some fascinating details of radical, armed actions/groups/communiques, though the editorial perspective of the paper is unclear enough that some of the articles appear as unadulterated leftist cheerleading. Still, if you want to know what's happening on "the illegal front" and what these groups think they're doing, this is the place to get that information. The latest issue contains information and communiques regarding Revolutionary Anti-Racist Action's destruction of three MAKRO supermarkets, resistance to the census in West Germany, Rote Zora on the "Campaign against gene technology," Revolutionary Cells, Red Army Faction, E.T.A., and Puerto Rican resistance. Subscriptions are \$6/year.

**KICK IT OVER #21 & 22** (POB 5811, Station A, Toronto, ONT., Canada M5W 1P2), a quarterly anarchist-feminist tabloid, includes some interesting articles in its summer 1988 issue (#21): "Making the Great Lakes HOME; the Eco-feminist Imperative" by Jennifer Sells, news regarding a Soviet anti-war arsonist in a transla-

tion entitled "It's wrong to kill people!," a translation of an interview with a Guatemalan activist in a support group for families of the "disappeared," a call from Ron Hayley for anarchists to support ecological, feminist, indigenous and rural movements titled "Beyond the Anarchist Ghetto," and an update on the despicable behavior of the Sandinistas regarding the Miskito, Sumo and Rama peoples of Nicaragua's Atlantic coast. The fall issue (#22) surprisingly leads off with a very important article by Janet Biehl, "The Politics of Myth," which exposes the current mania for goddess-worship in feminist and ecologically-concerned circles as an irrational response to real underlying needs. This issue also contains Brian Tokar's views of the ongoing social ecology/deep ecology debate, an interview alleging that there has been a coverup of police involvement in the Green River murders in Washington state, and an account of the 3rd North American Bioregional Congress. Subscriptions remain \$7.50/year.

**THE MATCH! #83** (POB 3488, Tucson, AZ. 85722) is basically a one-person journal, still put out after all these years by Fred Woodworth. His acerbic—at times bordering on cynical—style has won him a fairly loyal readership, including this reviewer who remembers when *The Match!* was virtually the only regularly appearing anarchist journal one could expect to find published anywhere in North America (back in the late '60s/early '70s). His efforts deserve a hell of a lot of respect, even if for no other reason than his dogged dedication to keeping the torch burning during the long years involved in the (still continuing) rebuilding of some sort of North American anarchist movement. It's impossible for me to agree with some of his more adoring paeans to Science, Rationalism, and Materialism, or with his affinity for a few other attitudes which are usually associated with the political right (though before too many stones are cast, consider how annoying it is that most "anarchists" seem to carry around even more politically leftist baggage). All in all, I do recommend that anyone unfamiliar with *The Match!* check it out. Besides the engaging columns which appear in every issue, articles in the current issue include a defense of the Marquis de Sade called "Anarchy, and the works of Sade," a remembrance of the utopian writer Charles Fourier, and the conclusion to the remarkable, serialized story "Dream World" (at long last, soon to be published as a book), along with a multitude of letters to the editor. Sample issues \$2. Subscriptions \$8/year (4 issues).

**GREEN PERSPECTIVES #7-10** (Green Program Project, POB 111, Burlington, VT. 05402) now appearing monthly and subtitled, "A Left Green Publication," seems to be a voice for Murray Bookchin's social ecology and Janet Biehl's ecofeminism in their dialogue with the various strands of the ecology movement. #7 (June 1988) features a very good essay by Biehl, called "The Politics of Myth," in which she all but demolishes the case for goddess worship as an appropriate part of any radical ecological perspective. #8 (July 1988) features the first part of an essay by Bookchin, called "The Population Myth," which catches him at his best in a spirited and scholarly denunciation of the racist and reactionary tendencies of those who advocate an ecological Malthusianism. #9 (August) consists of an interesting interview with Jutta Dittfurth (a founder of the West German Greens in Hesse) and a review of Werner Hulsberg's *The German Greens: A Social and Political Profile*. #10 (September) apparently publishes for the first time an article Bookchin wrote in response to attacks which appeared in the Nov. 1, 1987 issue of *Earth First!* (which that journal refused to print). In his article Book-

chin poses some important questions for those associated with "Deep Ecology" and what he calls the "Arizona Junta," which controls the *Earth First!* journal (principally Dave Foreman). For anyone interested in the battles over the directions of the more radical strands of the ecology movement these are all required reading. Subscriptions are \$10/10 issues.

**MAXIMUM ROCKNROLL #65** (POB 288, Berkeley, CA. 94701), the premier punk scene journal, has expanded its format (and its price). Now 128 pages per issue (up from 72) and \$2 a shot, this monthly 'zine includes lots of letters, several columns (Lawrence Livermore's is my favorite), an excellent new "Behind the news round-up" section, plenty of interviews, reprints of other 'zine articles, scene reports from around the world, and record, tape, book, & 'zine reviews. If you want to know what's happening in the punk scene, this is the place to find out. Subscriptions are \$15/6 issues.

**FIFTH ESTATE #329** (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202) contains news from the Toronto anarchist gathering of this past summer, a self-critique of FE staffers participation in the Great Lakes Alliance campaign to stop the Detroit incinerator, an essay on "Industry As the Origin of Modern Domination by Leopold Roc, a continuation of the debate over FE's critique of deep ecology last year (the deep ecologists are looking more and more ridiculous), and John Zerzan's essay, "Agriculture, Essence of Civilization." Still the most consistently interesting paper around. Subscriptions remain \$5.00/year (4 issues).

### ALSO RECEIVED:

\*A price list/mini-catalog for **Everyday Books** (POB 806, Willimantic, CT. 06226) which includes several worthwhile books like Noam Chomsky's *Pirates and Emperors: International Terrorism in the Real World* and Ivan Illich's *Toward a History of Needs*. Free.

**Slingshot Vol.1, No.12** (700 Eshelman, Berkeley, CA. 94720) is a nicely done little 16-page anarchist streetsheet. The articles are generally easy to read and informative focussing on local topics. This issue includes articles on police harassment of the homeless (and the harassment of one of the papers contributors), the fight against forced drug testing, protesting at the Bohemian Grove, and the anarchist unconvention last July in Toronto. No price listed—send \$.45 in stamps.

**SRAF Bulletin #104.5** (POB 11966, Salt Lake City, UT. 84147) continues its decline into senility. This issue came complete with a "Think Pro-Life" sticker on the envelope and features two denunciations of my review in the last issue of *Anarchy*—though no content (aside from a short letter by Ed Stamm) worthy of any better rating appears here. According to one anonymous "reader," "Lev has once again proved his ego(t)ist elitism as he sits on his throne in Columbia...." It would just be amusing if it weren't so pathetic. Subscriptions are \$3/6 issues.

**The Thought Vol.8 No.8-10** (POB 3092, Orange, CA. 92665) is pulling out some surprises as its editor and publisher, R.C. Tobin, has decided to jettison his faith in Objectivism in order to make room for "intuition" in its pages. Issue #8 contains several rants of minor interest—Robert Sagehorn on the (speculative) uses of "gravity control," Lynda Grimm on "immortality" (in which she reveals that "Physical immortality is defined by scientists as the ability to live to be 110 years or over!"), a somewhat more interesting tract from the "World Peace Headquarters," and editor Tobin's own piece in which he claims astral projection is "real," and asks that people not ridicule him. Issue #10 continues the descent into the bizarre with an article by someone who believes s/he is a

Continued on page 13

GOVERNMENT IS THE SUBJUGATION OF INDIVIDUALS BY VIOLENCE FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE ELITE. IT MAKES NO DIFFERENCE WHETHER A GOVERNMENT CALLS ITSELF CAPITALIST, COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST, FASCIST, OR DEMOCRATIC; NO GOVERNMENT CAN EXIST WITHOUT THE THREAT OF DEATH THROUGH ARMY AND POLICE TO CONTROL THOSE IT WOULD GOVERN.

BY VOTING YOU SUPPORT BEING GOVERNED, HAVING DECISIONS MADE FOR YOU IN THE NAME OF A "COMMON GOOD" YOU HAVE NO ABILITY TO DEFINE.

SOME HAVE SAID THOSE WHO DO NOT VOTE HAVE NO RIGHT TO COMPLAIN ABOUT THOSE WHO ARE ELECTED. THIS IS A FALSE CONCLUSION BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THOSE WHO COMPLAIN WISH TO BE GOVERNED AT ALL, MUCH LESS BY ANY PARTICULAR PARTY OR INDIVIDUAL. IF YOU ARE NOT THIRSTY YOU WILL REFUSE BOTH WINE AND WATER TO DRINK. AND DO YOU FEEL ANY MORE FREE WHEN THE CHOICE IS BETWEEN PISS AND BILE?

MAKE THE ONLY REAL CHOICE LEFT THIS ELECTION: DECIDE NOT TO VOTE AND LET EVERYONE AROUND YOU KNOW WHY. AS SUPPORT FOR GOVERNMENT WANES A SOCIETY OF AUTONOMY AND COOPERATION WILL GROW IN ITS PLACE. INVESTIGATE AND SUPPORT THE ANTI-AUTHORITARIAN MOVEMENT IN YOUR AREA.

Trevor (POB 23061, Knoxville, TN. 37933-1061).

# Anarchist media review

by Kansas Slim

A sort-of-review of *Chaos*, by James Gleick (Viking, 1987), and *Chaos*, by Hakim Bey (Grim Reaper Books, 1985). All quotations in italics are from Hakim Bey, and all other unattributed quotations are from James Gleick.

Scientists aren't very fond of chaos. Order is what they're after. Predictability. Irregularities in experiments and in data collection are shrugged off as unavoidable errors caused by inadequate measuring devices or human sloppiness. But progress is steady and inevitable and eventually an absolute and precise understanding of all physical systems will be realized. At least, that's the way it used to seem.

The first hint that something was wrong came with Einstein's theory of relativity and the seemingly nonsensical discoveries of physicists like Heisenberg and Schrödinger. Now biologists, ecologists, and fluid dynamics people have also pushed their disciplines out to the frontiers of rationality, out into the territory that sent all the quantum mechanics howling off into the night looking for God. Finally the prodigal son has returned home, and the scientific establishment has slain the fatted grant. Chaos is becoming an accepted scientific discipline, and many scientists are starting to glimpse a picture of the world that some anarchists have seen for a long, long time.

*Chaos never died.*

## Models of Disorder

The science of chaos is the study of orderly disorder created by simple processes. These processes are as varied as the change in population of species in an ecosystem, the frequency of earthquakes on a fault line, the rhythms of the heart, the spread of a disease, or the dripping of a faucet. The science of chaos is necessary because of a growing realization that the old models for these systems just don't work.

Making "models" is what science is all about. No, not the kind where the plastic pieces all come in a box and you follow the instructions and stick them together and paint them up and sniff a little glue on the side. A scientific model is an abstract representation or a mental picture of a real-world process or situation. It is simplified and stripped down to its barest essentials. The purpose of making the model is to try to understand how the system works and to predict its behavior under different conditions. Modelling isn't something that just scientists do—we all do it every day.

For instance, we all have a model of a "cop" in our head. Our individual models are all different because of our different experiences with cops and the different assumptions we make about cop behavior. We can imagine how the cop will react to different inputs from us—we can guess what will happen if we wave at the cop, for example, or if we flip him/her off or start shooting. Our decision to wave, flip off, or shoot in any given instance is governed by our model of how the cop will react, and by other relevant models, such as our model of Where We Can Go If the Cop Comes This Way.

This is essentially what scientists do, with one fundamental difference: they attempt to build models that can be communicated to other scientists. The way this is usually done is to describe the process that they are modelling with mathematical equations. Usually, these models are built with *linear* equations—equations that can be easily solved, equations that can be graphed as a straight line. The only problem is that most physical systems don't work that way, and to accurately describe them *nonlinear* equations must be used.

Lets get metaphysical

## Chaos and anarchy

As James Gleick puts it, "Nonlinearity means that the act of playing the game has a way of changing the rules."

Let's look at a simple example—the gas mileage of a car. This can be described with a simple linear equation: gas mileage equals miles driven divided by gallons used. We assume that the mileage is a constant which describes the relationship of the two variables, miles driven and gallons used. If we know the gas mileage and how far we want to go, we can calculate how much gas we need and then we can check our wallet and see if we can afford it. For most purposes, this equation works well—but is this really what's happening? Nope—nonlinearity creeps in and rears its ugly head. For one example, the amount of fuel needed to move the car a mile depends on its weight, and the weight decreases as the fuel is used. The weight of a tank of gas is relatively small in comparison to the weight of a car, though, so this can safely be ignored.

This effect is much less trivial in the case of an airplane or a space shuttle where the weight of fuel is a much larger share of the total vehicle weight and the costs of running out are a little steeper. This is a model with just one nonlinearity taken into account and is still a very simple description. More complex systems with more variables need more equations to describe how they work. And put together a system of several nonlinear equations and you've got...well, *chaos*.

*Chaos comes before all principles of order and entropy, it's neither a god nor a maggot, its idiotic desires encompass & define every possible choreography, all meaningless aethers & phlogistons, its masks are crystallizations of its own facelessness, like clouds.*

"Our feeling for beauty is inspired by the harmonious arrangement of order and disorder as it occurs in natural objects—clouds, trees, mountain ranges, or snow crystals. The shapes of all these are dynamical processes jelled into physical forms, and particular combinations of order and disorder are typical for them."

—physicist Gert Eilenberger

## Fractals, strange attractors, and the butterfly effect

*To embrace disorder both as a wellspring of style & voluptuous storehouse, a fundamental or our alien & occult civilization, our conspiratorial esthetic, our lunatic espionage--this is the action (let's face it) either of an artist of some sort, or of a ten or thirteen-year-old.*

Chaos is making scientists artists again. By now many of us have seen pictures of fractals, those brightly colored psychedelic images of feathery seahorse shapes that branch off into infinity, structures that are self-replicating on level after level down to the microscopic and beyond. As James Gleick says, "In the mind's eye, a fractal is a way of seeing infinity." As it turns out, fractals are more than just pretty pictures. They are proving to be the best method so far devised for modelling natural systems as diverse as the branching of tree limbs and blood vessels, the surface of the human lung, and the shapes of coastlines.

Another model of chaos is the *strange attractor*. An attractor is another way of modelling a physical system. The simplest kind of attractor is a *point attractor*. For a

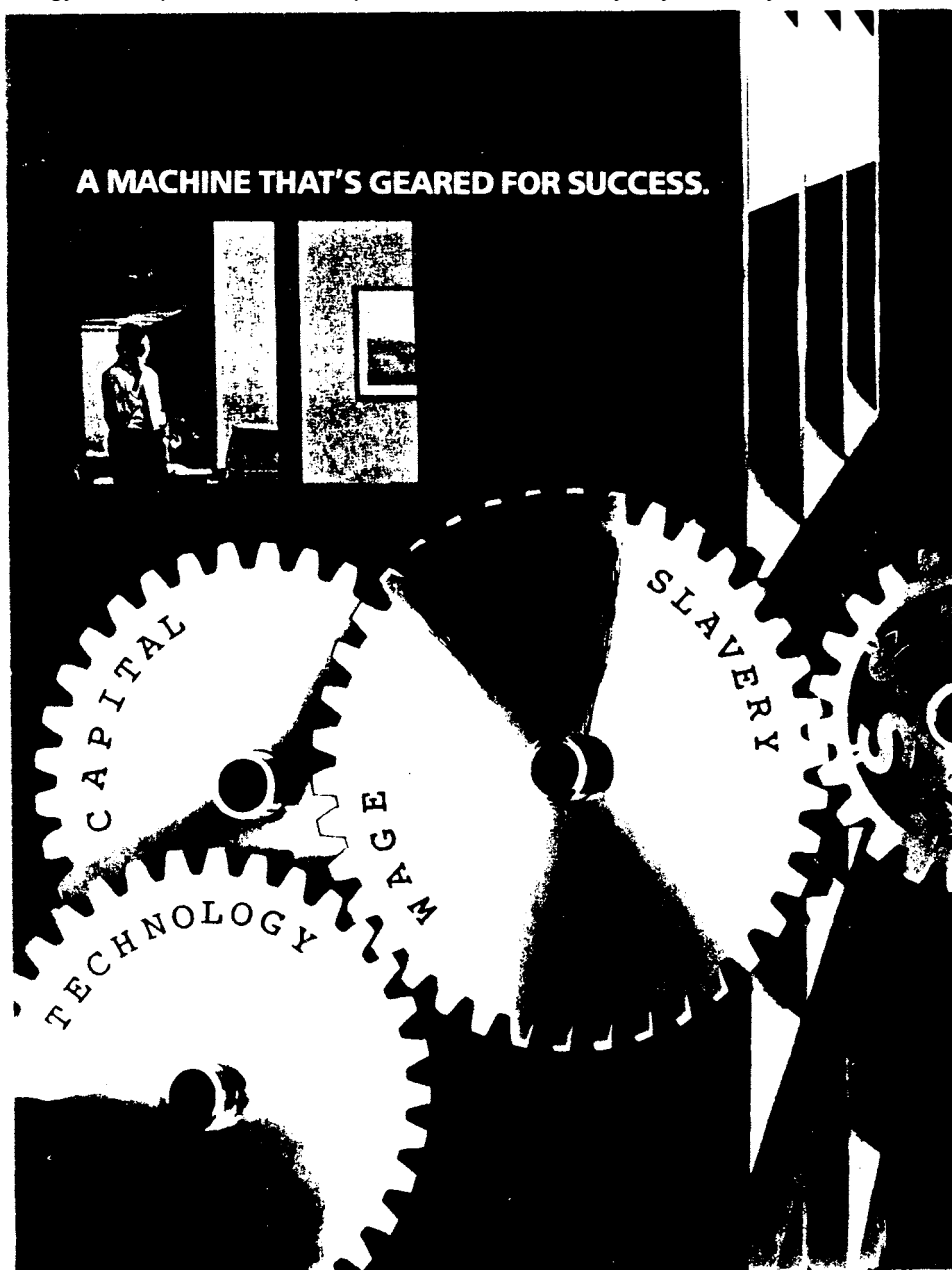
system described by a point attractor, no matter what the initial conditions, the final equilibrium state is always the same. These are most useful in describing processes that start with a certain amount of energy, gradually run down as they dissipate energy through friction or heat convection, and finally stop. The simplest example of this is a pendulum. No matter where you start the pendulum, it will move a shorter and shorter distance with each swing and will eventually come to rest. The attractor for this system is the point with amplitude=0 and momentum=0.

The best way to visualize attractors is by graphing them in what is called *phase space*. A graph in phase space has an axis for each of the important characteristics of the system. These characteristics are measured at successive points in time and plotted on the graph. If the system can be described by an attractor, the points in phase space will form a smooth curve. In the case of the pendulum, the important parameters are the momentum of the pendulum and its amplitude (or position). The graph of the pendulum's motion forms a spiral that slowly circles and finally comes to rest at the point at the point attractor.

A slightly more complex attractor is called a *limit cycle*. Its graph in phase space is a closed curve, such as an ellipse or a circle, and it is used to model systems that have periodic motion that repeats indefinitely. A common example is a pendulum with weights attached, as in a grandfather clock. The falling weights add energy to the pendulum to compensate

for the energy lost to friction, so the pendulum doesn't run down nearly as fast. A *strange attractor* is a still more complicated attractor, where the curve in phase space is not periodic but nevertheless is confined to a definite pattern. The curve defining the strange attractor circles endlessly in an orbit that never repeats itself but always remains within a finite space. Strange attractors can thus be seen to have a fractal nature, since both involves curves of an infinite length in a finite space. And, like fractals, strange attractors are no mere theoretical curiosity, but are coming to be accepted as the best way to model such complex systems as the climate of the earth and the storage of information in the human brain: "Information is stored in a plastic way, allowing fantastic juxtapositions and leaps of imagination. Some chaos exists out there, and the brain seems to have more flexibility than classical physics in finding order in it."

The property of chaos that disturbs classical physicists the most is that it is deterministic, yet unpredictable. They have what is called a *sensitive dependence on initial conditions*. In a classically modelled system, initial states that are close to each other lead to similar states at any given time later. As in the examples of the point attractor and the limit cycle, if you start your pendulum by holding it a little higher, it will eventually trace the same path as before, only with a slightly greater starting amplitude. They will eventually settle down to the same point or the same periodic motion as before. Not so with a strange attractor. Very similar initial conditions will lead to wildly different paths—all still on the surface of the attractor, but not necessarily anywhere near each other at any point in time. In climatology, this has been termed the *butterfly effect*—the perhaps not-completely-joking notion that a butterfly stirring the air today in your backyard can affect





## Anarchist media review

the weather a month from now on the other side of the planet.

### The self-organizing universe

"Things are what they are spontaneously, not caused by something else. Everything is natural & does not know why it is so. The 10,000 things have 10,000 different states, all in motion as if there were a True Lord to move them—but if we search for evidence of this Lord we fail to find any."

—Kuo Hsiang

Biology, the science of life, has proven to be especially ripe for the ideas of chaos. Researchers like Ilya Prigogine have probed into the nature of self-organizing systems, and have seen dynamic order arise in simple chemical soups, systems not usually credited with being capable of purposive behavior. The systems created by Prigogine are driven by an energy input and seem to evolve toward greater and greater levels of complexity. Furthermore, the systems work to maintain the conditions necessary for their own survival. None of these soups has ever developed to the stage of "life", at least as most people define it, but they do illustrate the striving for self-organization built into the material world. Order is not imposed from without, but arises from within. Matter wants to live. Eric Jantsch, in his book *The Self-Organizing Universe*, writes that "The natural dynamics of [self-organizing systems] teaches the optimistic principle of which we despair in the human world—the more freedom in self-organization, the more order!"

Applying these same principles on a grander scale, J.E. Lovelock has proposed modelling the Earth itself as a self-organizing system. In *Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth*, Lovelock describes the elaborate planetary mechanisms that work to maintain the necessary conditions for the thriving of biological life.

ing of biological life.

And so we see the same pattern behind a self-organizing chemical reaction in a laboratory beaker as behind the life of the planet itself—same structure, different scale. We see the same structures repeat themselves as we penetrate into deeper and deeper levels of a fractal surface. Chaos scientists have rediscovered and brought scientific respectability to the ancient wisdom so succinctly expressed in the phrase "As above, so below."

*Paradox: to embrace chaos is not to slide toward entropy but to emerge into an energy like stars, a pattern of instantaneous grace—a spontaneous organic order completely different from the carrion pyramids of sultans, muftis, cadis, & grinning executioners.*

### Information theory and the repeal of the Second Law of Thermodynamics

Chaos is the creation of information. The simplest patterns require the least information to describe them. All the information contained in an alternating string of zeros and ones (0101010101...) is contained in the smallest unit: 01. If the pattern repeats on a larger cycle, such as 011001100110..., more information is needed: 0110. If there is no pattern and the string is random, then the only way to convey all the information in the string is to repeat the entire string. So chaotic systems embody more information than those that can be described with simple linear equations.

Looking at the emergence of life on this planet and of the planet itself evolving as a living organism, we can start to feel the inspiration behind Charles Fourier's

Continued on page 13



Lizzie Borden

### ANOTHER VIEW

## Why Working Girls Doesn't Work

**NOTE:** The following piece was written by a reader in reaction to the review of Lizzie Borden's film *WORKING GIRLS*, which appeared in the last issue of *ANARCHY* (#16, Summer '88). Further comments by other interested readers are welcome.

by Bill Blank

Occasionally a film will attract much attention within radical or anarchical communities when the word says the flick is politically correct and possibly entertaining. But often these hip movies are almost as exploitative as the Rambo feature howling from the other side of the theater walls. No recent film can expose this shallowness more than "Working Girls," despite its hype as "liberating" or even "convincing."

Liberals cheer this "alternative" film because hard hats, er condoms, are always worn and because prostitutes are not condemned morally or emotionally. Director Lizzie Borden conveniently chooses middle to upper class prostitution to pound one message: that prostitution is no worse, and about as dull(?), as any other average job.

Fine for openers but that's as deep as the film gets. And as details are trudged before us, this sledgehammer theme turns on itself and into another feeble justification of wage-labor (toned down from glorification). It might as well have been a movie about women in the army being all they can be. At least with scams like "The Big Chill" we weren't fooled: while "Working Girls" won't snag the Yuppies (poor soundtrack), Lizzie Borden goes for the liberal and radical audience with similar uncontested assumptions about working for a living.

Incidentally, any film-goers secretly hoping they're sneaking in on an artsy-porn film (like "Devil in the Flesh"?), forget it. The sex displayed and discussed is painfully boring, with acting bad enough to rival the average porn flick—except "Working Girls" carefully adheres to the sexist state codes for non-XXX movies. Though this complaint may discourage many from checking the film out, it's hardly the main flaw. Neither is the feeling that every character is a creep. In *Anarchy* #16, Lev Chernyi concedes female audiences have complained about all the male characters (all are Johns) being "creeps". Certainly, the male violence potential makes them

creepier, but most women I've talked to haven't found any character the slightest bit appealing.

The real lack of penetration here is the total failure to challenge the wage-slave labor system. Sure characters whine about long hours and insensitive customers, but never does it occur to anyone (including Molly, with her multiple B.A.'s) that this obvious example of exploitation and work should (and could) be revolted against. Since all forms of wage labor (whether the state or boss signs the check) are types of prostitution, what could better expose this than the world's oldest profession. Instead, we get this thumped into our sleepy heads over and over again: "It's just a job, I'm only doing my job."

Sound vaguely familiar?...

Lizzie might have been able to rescue this mess by contrasting paid sex with some kind of meaningful relationship or (gulp) some erotic lovemaking. Alas, Molly stumbles home to her lover but is too exhausted from work to even show some affection before collapsing into sleep.

At least she could have slept on the job....

I'm writing this from the Cass Corridor in Detroit, one of the most active street hooker neighborhoods in a city foreshadowing the fall of an empire. Over my shoulder is another body for sale every few minutes, seven days a week. These products are used and in bad shape but, of course, they can make their own hours. My income is hardly better than most who stagger by my window, but I'm fortunate to have a community and family which encourage alternatives to full-time employment or streetwalking with the living dead. For, unlike the fairly contented employees in "Working Girls," here no make-up can hide the scars from the beatings, needles, and malnutrition in the final destination for countless have-nots, often too illiterate to read the rules of the soup kitchen.

Will a sequel to "Working Girls" have the women form a union with child care and a 40-hour work week? If we're so educated, are films like this the best we can do to educate the employed and unemployed about the nature, the scam, of work? Since most alternatives to pushing sex and drugs—besides revolution—mean flipping burgers, will the next feature for the sympathetic left show workers coping at a McDonalds?

After all, the army could be a bit too obvious.



**IT'S ABOUT TO BE SUCCESSFULLY DISMANTLED BY THOSE WHO WOULD RATHER NOT BE GEARS IN A MACHINE.**

(Because sometimes, learning to see things as an animal does is the smartest thing a human being can do.)

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**Editor's introduction: The Papalagi** (with the 'g' pronounced as an 'h', or so I was told by the original English publishers, Real Free Press in Amsterdam) is a collection of speeches purportedly written by the South Pacific chief Tuiavii of Tiaavea, and intended for his people. They first appeared in a German edition sometime in the early twenties, in a translation by his friend Eric Scheurmann (an anthropologist). A translation was published in Dutch in 1929, from which the English translation was then made in 1971. As becomes quickly apparent when one reads it, **The Papalagi** is a sort of critical reverse anthropology in which white European civilization is thoroughly dissected and evaluated with the puzzled contempt that it so well deserves from a "primitive" perspective.

**E**very Papalagi has a profession. It's hard to say exactly what that means. It is something for which you are supposed to have a big appetite, but seems to be lacking most of the time. Having a profession means, always doing the same things. Doing it so often that you can do it with your eyes closed and without strain. When my hands would do nothing but build huts or weave mats, then my profession is hut-builder or mat-wearer.

There are male and female professions. Washing loin-cloths in the lagoon and shining footskins are female professions, sailing a ship on the sea and shooting pigeons in the forest are male professions. The women usually give up their professions when they marry, but then the man really starts his. An *alii* [Editorial note: Gentleman] only gives his daughter to a suitor who is well trained in his profession. A Papalagi without a profession cannot get married. It's a rule that every white man has to have a profession.

That's why every Papalagi has to choose a profession for the rest of his life, at a time that his puberty tattoos are applied. They call that, choosing a job. That is a very important occasion, and an *aiga* [man] devotes as much time to it as he devotes to the question of what to eat the next day. For instance, if he chooses the profession of mat-weaver, an old *alii* takes the boy to a man who does nothing but weaving mats. That man must show the boy how to weave mats. He must teach him to weave that mat the way he does it, without looking. Often, the learning takes a long time, but when he masters it, he leaves that man and people say he knows a trade.

The Papalagi have as many professions as there are stones in the lagoon. Everything he does, he makes into a profession. When somebody gathers the leaves of the bread tree, he has a profession. When somebody washes food bowls, he has a profession. Everything they do, they call a profession. With their hands or with their

# THE PAPALAC

SPEECHES BY  
**TUIANII OF TIANEA**  
A SAMOAN CHIEF



# PROFESSIONS OF THE PAPALAGI AND THE CONFUSION THAT IS THEIR RESULT

heads. It is also a profession to have thoughts and to look at the stars. There is nothing a man can do really, that is not made into a profession by the Papalagi.

When a white man says that he is a *tussi-tussi* [letter-writer], then that is a profession. He does nothing else but write one letter after the other. He does not carry his sleeping mat to the roof-beams. He does not go to the cooking-shack himself to fry some fruits and does not clean his eating tools himself. He eats fish, but never goes out fishing himself. He eats fruit, but never plucks one from the tree himself. But he writes one *tussi* after the other, because his job happens to be *tussi-tussi*. Those other actions are all professions; taking the bed-mats up to the rafters, frying the fruits, washing the eating tools, catching the fish and plucking the fruits. And only those that hold the job are qualified to perform it.

So it happens that the Papalagi can only do their own work and the chief who carries so much wisdom in his head and strength in his arms, can neither bring up his bedroll to

the rafters nor wash his eating tools himself. And so it also happens that the man who can write a fancy *tussi*, is not necessarily able to sail a canoe; and the other way around. Having a profession means; only walking, only tasting, only smelling, only fighting, always knowing only one thing.

That knowing-only-one-thing, is a grave danger and shortcoming, because there may come a time that anybody must be able to row a canoe across the lagoon.

The Great Spirit has given us hands to pluck the fruits from the trees, or to pull the taro-roots from the swamp. We got them to defend our bodies against our enemies and to give us pleasure, when we play or dance or with other festivities. But we certainly haven't got them only for breaking fruits off trees or digging up roots. They must be our servants and soldiers all the time.

But the Papalagi do not understand that. We can clearly see that their way of life is wrong and in sharp conflict with the wishes of the Great Spirit, because there are white people who cannot walk anymore

and who gather lard on the lower parts of their rumps, like pigs do. Being forced by their trade to sit all the time, they can lift nor throw a spear, because their hands can only hold on to the writing-bone and they are always sitting in the shade, writing *tussi*. They have become unable to break-in wild ponies, because they are forever looking up to the stars or digging thoughts out of themselves.

Only a few Papalagi can still jump and run like children, after growing up. When they walk they drag their feet and move as if they are continually burdened down. They deny and hide their weakness by saying that, running, romping and skipping is below the dignity of a proud man. But that is hypocritical, for his bones have hardened and turned brittle, happiness has left his muscles, because they are condemned to death by his job. The profession also is a *situ* [curse] that destroys life. A *situ* that whispers sweet promises in peoples' ears and at the same time sucks away the blood from their bodies.

Professions hurt the Papalagi also in another way and make themselves known as *situs*, over and over.

For instance, it's great to build a hut, cut the trees in the forest and chop them into planks, raise the timbers, cover them with the roof and finally when the planks and roof-beams are tied together tightly with coconut fibers, to cover everything with dried leaves and sugar canes. I don't have to tell you that it is great fun, when a village builds a new hut for its chief, with women and children sharing in the fun as well.

But if only a few of us would be allowed to go into the forest to chop down the trees and cut them into planks? And those few were forbidden to assist in erecting the timbers, because their job is only felling trees and cutting planks? And the other people who have erected the timbers, if they weren't allowed to assist in weaving the roof because their job is plank-layer? And the men weaving the roofs would not be allowed to assist in the laying of the sugar-canes, because mat-weaving is their profession? And none of them would be allowed to collect the pebbles on the beach used for hardening the floor, because that would be the job of those of the pebble collecting trade? And what if only those that are going to inhabit the house would take part in the opening festivities and all those that helped build it, were not?

You laugh and will certainly say, if we would not be allowed to help with all the things requiring our male strength, then half the fun would be gone, half the fun, no, all the fun! And he who expects us to use our hands for only one purpose,



expects us to do as if all our other limbs and our senses were paralyzed or dead.

That's the reason for the bitterness of the Papalagi. Sometimes it is great to fetch water from the creek, it may even be nice to do it a couple of times. But if you must carry water from sunrise to sunset, day after day, every hour until your strength fails, fetching and fetching; in the end you will fling away your pail in anger, embittered about the slavery of your body. Because there is nothing so hard for a man, as having to do the same thing over and over again.

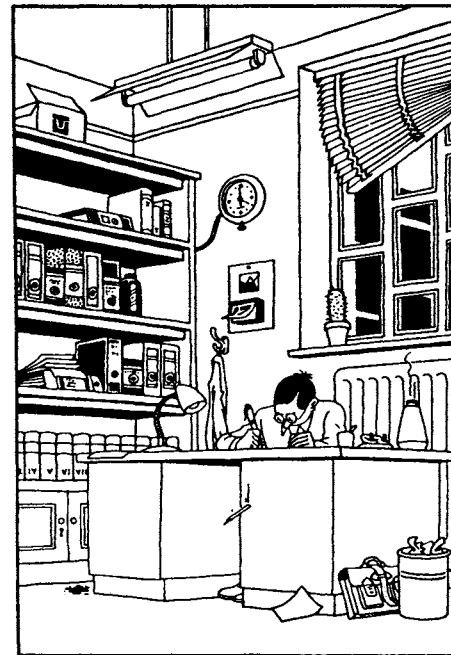
But there are Papalagi for whom fetching water from the

well day after day, would be a joy; they are the ones that do nothing else but lifting their hand and letting it drop again or push a stick and they have to do that in a grimy place where neither sun nor fresh air can penetrate and they do nothing that needs their strength or brings them happiness. Considering the way of thinking of the Papalagi, lifting your hand and pushing sticks is very important, because maybe you set a machine in motion that way or give it directions; set it, so that it cuts out chalk-rings or breast-shields, fabricates trouser-shells or so. There are more people with ash-grey faces in Europe, than there are trees on our islands. Because they derive no pleasure from their work, and because their job eats up all their happiness and they never make something for their own pleasure, not even a leaf, no matter how long they work. That's why there lives a smoldering hate inside people with jobs. Something is living inside their hearts that's restrained like a chained animal, rebelling but still unable to free itself. Filled with hate and envy they look at and compare each other's jobs. People speak about lower and higher class jobs, although all jobs

force people to do only half work. A human being is not just a hand or a foot, or a leg, but is everything together.... Only when all the senses and the limbs work together, can a man's heart be happy and healthy and not when only a part is allowed to live and the rest of him has to play dead. That breeds mixed-up, sick and desperate people.

The Papalagi live in confusion with their professions. They don't realize that and when they would hear me speak like this, they certainly would call me a fool because I would judge without ever having had a profession, or having worked for a single day like a European works.

But those Papalagi have never been able to explain to us or make us understand, why we should do more work than God asks us to satisfy our hunger and provide for a roof over our heads and the enjoyment of a feast and its preparations in the village square. Our labors may seem puny and lacking the skills of the trade, but every true man and brother from the islands does his work cheerfully and never sadly. In that case he would rather not work at all. That's the thing that sets us apart from the Papala-



gi. The white man sighs when he talks about his job, as if he's being crushed under its burden; but, our youths walk to the taro fields singing and with a song the maidens wash the loin-cloths in the swift stream. The Great Spirit certainly doesn't wish us grey hairs as a result of some job, nor does he want us to crawl around like a seaslug in a lagoon, or like a toad on the land. He wants us to do our thing, proud and upright and remain people with happy eyes and supple limbs, forever.

## Chaos and anarchy

Continued from page 11

"law of passionate attraction"—the concept of the cosmos as "a vast organization suffused by life and growth." We can let our imaginations run wild and envision matter's tendency toward self-organization proceeding further until the entire universe is alive, until every particle and every structure on every level in the universe are moving spontaneously in deterministic yet unpredictable patterns, until the universe is pure information, until the only possible model universe is the universe itself.

But, of course, chaos physicists don't do this. Even chaos physicists take for granted Newton's Second Law of Thermodynamics, which states that entropy in a closed system is always increasing, that closed systems tend toward increasing disorder and will always run down and stop, like the pendulum we looked at a few paragraphs ago. Applied on a cosmic scale, this leads to what is somewhat

paradoxically called the **heat death of the universe**. This is the commonly accepted scientific prediction of the final state of the universe—a sort of cold gray soup of uniform temperature and uniform distribution of matter that will never move again. The End. That's all, folks.

In addition to being unpleasant, this idea also suffers from sloppy reasoning. It ignores the fact that the universe doesn't fit the definition of a closed system. Either the universe is finite or it's infinite. Assuming it is even possible for something that is finite to qualify as "the universe," if the universe is a finite, closed system it must have boundaries. If it has boundaries, what's on the other side? How do we know that no matter or energy crosses these boundaries? And if the universe is infinite, it doesn't have any boundaries and it doesn't fit the definition of a closed system. This being the case, there seems

to be no good reason to assume that the Second Law applies and that the universe will run down, so let's not....

### OK, so what does all this have to do with anarchy?

*From one point of view ontological anarchism is extremely bare, stripped of qualities and possessions, poor as CHAOS itself—but from another point of view it pullulates with baroque richness like the Fucking-Temples of Kathmandu or an alchemical emblem or book—it sprawls on its divan eating loukoum and entertaining heretical notions, one hand inside its baggy trousers.*

Chaos physics is not possible without a chaos metaphysics. And the development of a chaos metaphysics—of a common acceptance of the ideas of spontaneous order and the necessity for freedom in self-organization—is necessary for the creation of an anarchist society.

So the scientific acceptance of chaos holds great promise for those of us who are working for the creation of a non-hierarchical, libertarian social order. Scientists who come to accept the methods of chaos will be ripe for conversion to the metaphysics of chaos. As Ronald Puhek says in *The Metaphysical Imperative*: "Every science is based upon specific, usually unconscious, metaphysical assumptions. The absolute minimum of such assumptions concerns the reality of the object being studied." And the fundamental assumption of chaos metaphysics seem to be these:

1.) Life is not an accident. Order is not an accident. There is a built-in tendency in matter towards self-organization.

2.) In the real world, stable, dynamic systems are ordered without being predictable. They function best when given the most freedom.

3.) In real world chaotic systems there is a sensitive dependence on initial conditions. Most human societies and organizations can be described with chaos models. Small actions can make big differences.

As chaos becomes legitimized, the assumptions about reality that chaos science is based on will filter out to a wider population and provide fertile ground for sowing the idea of a society based on freedom rather than one based on coercion.

*A mask, an automythology, a map without placenames—stiff as an Egyptian wallpainting nevertheless it reaches to caress someone's face—and suddenly finds itself out in the street, in a body, embodied in light, walking, awake, almost satisfied.*

*Chaos never died.*

#### FOR FURTHER READING:

**The Self-Organizing Universe**, Eric Jantsch, Pergamon, 1980

**Gaia: A New Look at Life on Earth**, J.E. Lovelock, Oxford U. Press, 1979

**God and the New Physics**, Paul Davies, S&S, 1983

**The Metaphysical Imperative**, Ronald Puhek, Univ. Press of America, 1982

**Metamagical Themas**, Douglas Hofstadter, Basic Books, 1985

**The Ecology of Freedom**, Murray Bookchin, Cheshire Books, 1982

## Anarchist press review

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channeller for the "Spirit of this planet," and who knows what "the Plan" is! Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

**Guangara Libertaria** Vol.9, #35 (POB 1516, Riverside Station, Miami, FL 33135) is a Spanish-language anarchist journal published by the International Society for Historical & Social Studies. This issue reprints the "Declaration of Human Rights." Send a donation for a copy.

**Ecomedia Bulletin** #'s 36-37 (POB 915, Stn.F, Toronto, Ontario, M4Y 2N9, Canada) has been published on a fairly regular biweekly basis since the Toronto anarchist gathering this last July. This (usually) 4-page bulletin provides a relatively timely source for short news stories from around the world relevant to libertarians—with a focus on North America. Subscriptions are \$12/year (27 issues).

**Students Anti-Authority** #1 (Yiannis Kastanaras, Argiroupoleos 27, T. Ippokratous, Athens 11471, Greece) is a Greek-language, anti-school magazine. The first issue contains thought on school

and an article about student occupations. Send a contribution for a sample.

**Brand** #22 (Box 150 15, S-104.65 Stockholm, Sweden) is a Swedish-language magazine which chronicles anti-authoritarian struggles in Sweden. This issue covers the anti-electoral campaign in Sweden this last September (arson at 24 election offices of various parties, anti-vote leafleting, etc.), the anti-Shell campaign (more sabotage of Shell stations in Vaxjo and Stockholm), the continuing fight to maintain Ultra house, a radical, self-managed punk/alternative venue, protests against the gentrification of Klevgrand in Stockholm, as well as the latest squatting movement news. Single issues are 10Kr. plus postage.

**El Libertario** Vol.4, #13 (Brasil 1551, 1154 Buenos Aires, Argentina) is a Spanish-language publication of the Federacion Libertaria Argentina. This issue includes an obituary for Daniel Guerin (b.1905), a revolutionary theorist who combined Marxist and anarchist insights in a "libertarian

Marxism" which was influential primarily in Spanish-speaking movements. His books on urban guerrilla theory were reputedly influential on the Tupamaros, among others. Subscriptions are 10A/year.

**The Arrow; Bulletin of the Mackay Society** #6 (Box 131 Ansonia Station, N.Y.C., NY. 10023) includes a reprint of Octave Mirbeau's "Voters Strike!" Subscriptions are included in a one-time membership fee of \$10.

**S.E.T. Free** #25 (POB 1124, Albuquerque, N.M. 87103) is published by the Society for the Eradication of Television. Send an SASE for their 4-page newsletter.

**Le Libertaire; Revue de synthese anarchiste** #89 (25 rue Dumé d'aplemon, 76600 Le Havre, France) is a 4-page monthly French-language paper which propagates an "anarchist synthesis" exemplified by that of Voline (who is best known as the author of *The Unknown Revolution*). Subscriptions are 80F/year (10 issues).

\*The reviews above marked with an asterisk originally appeared in *Anarchy* #16. They have been reprinted here because of a layout mistake which made them virtually indecipherable.

# The Point of No Return for Everybody



## John Zerzan's *Elements of Refusal* and John Zerzan & Alice Carnes' *Questioning Technology* reviewed by Lev Chernyi

*Elements of Refusal* by John Zerzan (Left Bank Books, Box B, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA. 98101, 1988) 263pp., \$9.00.

*Questioning Technology; A Critical Anthology*, edited by John Zerzan and Alice Carnes (Freedom Press, 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1 7QX, England, 1988) 222pp., £5.00.

My original introduction to the visions of John Zerzan came from exposure to the broadsides of **Upshot**, collaborations between John and Paula Zerzan (back in the San Francisco of the 1970s) that still retain their power. One of my favorites was--and still is (it's mounted on the wall of our printshop over the layout tables)--"The Point of No Return for Everybody." This stark, but evocative portrait of our contemporary social reality interrupted by sparks of disconnected resistance, is for me a hallmark of Zerzan's profound vision of a dying civilization and its inchoate discontents.

After John left for Oregon (and after the **Upshot** broadsides ceased with John and Paula's split), **Anti-Authoritarians Anonymous** became the vehicle for a similar project infused with the same spirit. This project was also largely a collaboration--this time between Zerzan and Dan Todd--and eventually a nicely-done collection of some of it's most subversive posters and flyers was produced in a magazine format (now sadly out-of-print).

However, from the 1970s up to the present Zerzan has also been busy producing a regular stream of important essays which have appeared in many different periodicals, most significantly in the **Fifth Estate**, and secondarily in **Telos**. Taken together they constitute a far-reaching and extreme critique of human civilization, along with the culture and technology which made it possible. As **Fifth Estate** was

developing its own critique of civilization, technology and culture along somewhat divergent lines during this time, the dialogue which ensued proved to be an important impetus setting the stage for a currently emerging post-situationist, post-anarchist, post-ideological resistance.

After too-long delay, most of Zerzan's essays from this period have at last appeared this year in a new collection published by Left Bank Books, **Elements of Refusal**. Besides this, his new anthology, **Questioning Technology**, edited in collaboration with Alice Carnes, was also published this year--by Freedom Press in London. For radicals, both books are among the more important published this year.

### Life versus "survival"

As David Brown says in his introduction to **Elements**, "No less than as they appeared, these essays are provocative and important... John's writings have always contained that critical spirit which best characterized both the old 'Frankfurt School' and the Situationists--but are more radical, and without the debilitating despair of the former or the disgusting love affair with technology and 'progress' afflicting the latter." Zerzan presses on with his critique where others, not without reason, have feared to tread.

For Zerzan, the demand for authentic life and the struggle against mere "survival" are palpably and continually present throughout history. If we just look, we can't miss the signs of this struggle. From the "fall" into alienation, which he takes as the beginning of civilization, to the spasmodic episodes of release and repression represented in the bizarre litanies which constitute our "daily news," we can hardly evade the signs of this perennial confrontation.

Not that every modern institution isn't deployed precisely to prevent this realization. State, economy, culture--all work overtime attempting to legitimate and bolster the cracking foundations of the machine of civilization. Ideologies, commodities, all the rituals of domination and alienation multiply as the machine continually contrives newer and

"better" pseudo-satisfactions for desires that by their nature must be left ultimately unfulfilled.

How could the thirst for genuine community ever be quenched in a world where the typical "human" relationships are buying and selling, order-giving and order-taking? How could our lust for sensual intercourse ever overcome our mutual isolation through technologies which allow us to travel at faster and faster speeds to destinations all equally devoid of real

life? How could our desires for multi-dimensional and directly immediate communication ever be fulfilled by instruments of separation and deceit like the mass media and the proliferating networks of electronic information processing?

Zerzan not only presents us with irrefutable evidence of this ubiquitous and continuous confrontation between our primordial desires and their simulated satisfactions, but he has insisted over the years that everything is only getting worse. Our alienation is becoming more acute. Our appetites are becoming voracious and indiscriminate cravings. Our fantasies more violent, and our episodes of violence more fantastic.

According to David Brown (again from the introduction to **Elements**), "We grow more dependent on glitter and distraction to fill the void where all that is human is gutted. Our noses are shoved to the window of consumption (a display of lies) and [we] are told that here is life...A kind of social terror permeates everything, becoming a commonplace in our lives. Because, contrary to the glib, superficial aura (desperately and massively touted by the mass media), this 'work-buy-consume-die' paradise teeters on the brink of collapse and dissolution."

### Elements of refusal

The collection of essays in **Elements of Refusal** is divided into three sections. The first includes those most fundamental, speculative and "theoretical," his attempts to make radical sense of the origins of our alienation in pre-history. The second section searches through some of the key points of recent history (the last two hundred years) in an attempt to rediscover the true meanings of their episodes of resistance--and subsequent defeats. The third section focusses on the present "breakdown," mostly using a collage of dissociated bits of news, quotes, and other materials from the mass media to chart the current trajectory of modern civilization as it plunges towards oblivion.

The keys to Zerzan's most profound visions naturally lie in the first section where he takes on time, language, number, art and agriculture. Here he makes his most far-reaching and most questionable claims. In the beginning of the first essay, he sol-



emly announces "...time did not exist before the individual became separate from it. Reification of this magnitude—the beginning of time—constitutes the Fall: the initiation of alienation, of history." (p.7) Not shrinking from the necessary implications of this premise, he announces on the next page that "...technological society can only be dissolved...by annulling time and history." Throughout the essay he chronicles the emergence of time as an abstract line of discrete, uniform moments unfolding in endless progression, along with the social consequences of this emergence.

In his essay on language, he further clarifies his intent: "Fairly recent anthropology (e.g. Sahlins, R.B. Lee) has virtually obliterated the long-dominant conception which defined prehistoric humanity in terms of scarcity and brutalization...there seems to be a growing sense of that vast epoch as one of wholeness and grace. Our time on earth,...is in the deepest need of a reversal of the dialectic that stripped that wholeness from our life as a species." (p.22) He goes on to identify all language with ideology, demanding the renunciation of language, just as he called for the end of time in his first essay. As he says, "...it is evident that as soon as a human spoke, he or she was separated. This rupture is the moment of dissolution of the original unity between humanity and nature; it coincides with the initiation of the division of labor." (pp.28-9)

The possible objections to a perspective which explicitly identifies the symbolic with alienation are many. And with the publication of each of his speculative essays (on time, language, number, art and agriculture) in the *Fifth Estate*, many of these possible arguments were made, though without any further response of consequence by Zerzan. At the least, one can argue with George Bradford ("Confronting the Enemy; a response on time," *Fifth Estate*, #314, Fall 1983) that: "There is no 'first cause,' and therefore no single and unambiguous solution to the problem. No matter what, we should not let our questioning become transformed into an attempt, whether through zeal or through desperation, to impose totalizing, one-dimensional answers." (p.8)

What might make more sense would be a less abstractly Manichean judgement regarding the categories of symbolism, such that a more dialectical evaluation of

their integrating and their alienating aspects could be made. For as Paul Goodman has pointed out (see "The Anthropology of Neurosis" in *Gestalt Therapy*, written with Fritz Perls and Ralph Hefferline), with each evolutionary development of human "nature" a new level of integration has been achieved. And with each new integration, a whole new form of life has emerged. Each development has meant, not only an increase in the scope and flexibility of human powers, but—especially with regard to cultural developments—also an increase in the perils and possibilities for breakdowns in the complex balance required for healthy functioning. Thus we would do better to examine more closely the weak points in these evolutionary developments in order to develop a critique of the concretely observable breakdowns in function. For example, rather than attacking an overly-ambiguous concept of "time," this would mean investigating how it is that a certain highly abstract notion of time has come to dominate our experience.

### Questioning Technology

While his *Elements* remains a provocation for even the most radical among us, Zerzan and Carnes' *Questioning Technology* is a collection of essays from authors whose perspectives are (in general) much closer to the mainstream. All the major anti-tech luminaries—Mumford, Ellul, Baudrillard, etc.—are represented in concise essays or excerpts which are not only readable and convincing, but which impel the reader to seek out many of the original sources in their entirety.

As the introduction says, "This book presents only one side—the other side. [Its] purpose is to persuade you to think critically about technology." To this end the book is organized around editorial questions like those of section 2: "Was there a point in history when technology came to dominate the individual? How could this have happened?" The reader is then treated several variant answers, all shedding a different light on the subjects.

Both of these books are important enough to be picked up and read by all those who are serious about radically confronting this civilization, its technology and its culture of repression.

## Alternative press review

*Continued from page 6*

posting flyers advertising punk gigs), lots of zine and recording reviews, several band interviews and all the other usual ephemera. This issue interviews M.D.C., The Pissed Boys, Die Trottell, Mecca, Normal, others. Copies are \$2 plus \$.50 postage.

**New Options** #51 (POB 19324, Washington, D.C. 20036) continues to tout a sugary politics in which, even if the Democratic party is a great bunch of people, as its lead article says "The Democrats Won't Save Us," at least not yet! Mark Satin's account of the Democratic Party's convention makes it hard to keep in mind that he's talking about the same people who're largely responsible for maintaining the misery of extremely large numbers of people all over this planet. Maybe he hasn't realized this yet? Subscriptions are still \$25/year (11 issues).

**World Democracy News** #4 (260 16th St. #1, SE., Washington, D.C. 20003-1552) is an idealistic "Newsletter of the World Democracy Movement." Apparently lacking any conception of how political realities interact with economic, cultural or social factors, and committed to a naive conception of liberal democracy, this newsletter seems to have no real understanding of either the cold war, or of radical critiques of hierarchical and capitalist institutions. Instead it advocates a narrowly political brand of decentralization and federalism with which it hopes political authorities will not feel threatened, and even suggests that the U.S. is "after all, the original and oldest democratic federation in the world and, one might hope, the most perfected...." Of course there is no mention that there are ongoing bloody wars being financed and fought, both overtly and covertly, by this "original...democratic federation." A disgusting, but predictable, omission. Subscriptions are free/3 issues, though contributions are requested.

**ALFSG Front Line News** #4 (POB 915 Station F, Toronto, ONT. Canada M4Y 2N9) is a 32-page tabloid produced by the Animal Liberation Front Support Group. It contains the usual reports of sabotage, animal rescues, attacks on labs, slaughterhouses, etc., along with information on animal experimentation and vivisection, and the typically moralistic arguments against eating meat that one expects to find in A.L.F. literature. Subscriptions are \$10/year (last issue was over a year ago); single copies \$2.

**Grub** #69 (Lake St. Peter, Ontario K0L 2K0) is the "Gestetnered" newsletter of the Bancroft, Ontario alternative community. This 42-page issue contains mostly local news, comments, letters, reviews and a 7-page comic. Sample copies \$2/issue.

**Asia-Pacific Notes** #2 (c/o AFSC, 59 E. Van Buren, Suite 1400, Chicago, IL. 60605) is a modest little (5-page) newsletter on disarmament in the Asian-Pacific region. This issue focusses on Belau and Kanaky (New Caledonia). Free.

**Tranet** #54 (Box 567, Rangeley, ME. 04970) is a 16-page networking guide oriented mainly towards "appropriate/alternative technologies." Subscriptions are \$30/6 issues.

**New Society Publishers** (POB 582, Santa Cruz, CA. 95061-0582) is a "worker-controlled publishing house" that is "committed to fundamental social change through nonviolent action." Write for a free catalog.

**Campus Review** Vol 4. #7 (336 S. Clinton, Suite 16, Iowa City, IA 52240) is still hanging in there with a boringly right-wing, college-student newspaper. No price listed.

**Update** (POB 84116, San Diego, CA. 92138) is a single-sheet "occasional newsletter of freethought and humanistic ideas, dedicated particularly to the reduction of needless violence of all kinds." Free.

**Discomfit** #1 (c/o 100 Flowers, POB

30313, Kansas City, MO. 64112) aims to "show the Midwest something not seen or heard of since the heyday of the *Appeal To Reason* before 1914." This 20-page tabloid is long on promises, but time will tell how it develops. The first issue includes a reprint of Susan Simensky Bietla's "Divergent Politics in the Women's Movement" and a "History of K.C. Punk 1980-84." Subscriptions are \$10/year (12 issues).

**The South Sound Alliance** Vol 8, #11 (POB 921, Olympia, WA. 98507) is "the progressive newsmagazine for the Cascadia bioregion" (with local editions in South Sound, Portland and Eugene). This issue's lead article by Howard Hawkins criticizes Democrat/Republican politics in favor of a "radical municipalism" integrated with the Green movement. Subscriptions are \$15/year (12 issues).

**Southern Libertarian Messenger** Vol.XVII, #5 (Rt.10, Box 52A, Florence, S.C. 29501) is a 16-page patchwork collection of unattributed reprints from a variety of right-wing, capitalist, anti-communist and so-called "Libertarian" Party sources. This issue features an article denouncing Rev. Desmond Tutu as "a fraud, as recently pointed out by Rev. Jerry Falwell," an article on Amnesty International's report concerning Nicaraguan "human rights" (don't look here for reprints of A.I. reports on El Salvador or Guatemala, though!), and campaign literature for the "Libertarian" Party. Subscriptions are \$6/? issues.

**Ladybug** Vol.7, #2. (218 7th St., Boonville, MO.65233) has changed to an 8-page tabloid. This issue shows an increasing partiality for the Libertarian Party and the activities of the Missouri Taxpayer Watchdog Association (and thus an increasing orientation towards electoral politics). This issue also includes an interesting article on "Boonville's only shoe repair operation," along with the perennial column "Plant Slant," also heard in Columbia, MO. on KOPN 89.5 FM on Monday's at 6.55PM. Send an SASE for a sample copy.

**Discussion Bulletin** #31 (POB 1564, Grand Rapids, MI. 49501) continues to provide a participatory forum for "non-market socialist" (actually several different tendencies from anarchist to authoritarian Marxist) discussion. This issue features an interesting account of the Spanish dockworker's union, "La Coordinadora," and a review of the book, *Non-Market Socialism in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*. Write for details.

**Storm Warning!** #10 (4710 University Way NE, Suite 1612, Seattle, WA. 98105) is the newsletter of Vietnam Veterans Against the War-Anti-imperialist. This issue mentions Jane Fonda's anti-war activities during the Vietnam era, covers an anti-Ollie North demonstration in Seattle, and recounts the Presidio mutiny twenty years later. Subscriptions are \$8/year (12 issues?).

**Free Press Network** Vol.7, #4 (POB 15548, Columbus, OH. 43215) provides 8 pages of news and editorials concerning attempts at media restriction, and information on the activities of the Free Press Association. Subscriptions are included in memberships at \$25/year (4 issues).

**The Marionette** #37/*Prison News Service* #13 (Bulldozer Group, POB 5052, Stn. A, Toronto, Ontario, Canada) is an 8-page, combined newsletter featuring news from the notorious Marion prison, as well as news on other prison struggles. For a sample send a donation.

**The Brainshadow Conspiracy** #1 (c/o Cloud 247, POB 1132, Orcas Island, WA.) is a xeroxed compilation of punk-style collage and comment on ecology, politics, and new-ageism, etc. Subscriptions are \$5/year(?).

**Transnational Perspectives** Vol.14, #1 (Case Postale 161, 1211 Geneva 16, Switzerland) "offers political analysis of the major trends in the world...and provides policy suggestions so that common interest may be more easily found." This issue features Costa Rican President Oscar Arias's address given when he received the Nobel Peace Prize. Subscriptions are \$10/year (3 issues).

There are—at the very least—as many possible futures as there are people.



# Machine-breaking at the dawn of capitalism

## Who killed Ned Ludd?

by John Zerzan

In England, the first industrial nation, and beginning in textiles, capital's first and foremost enterprise there, arose the widespread revolutionary movement (between 1810 and 1820) known as Luddism. The challenge of the Luddite risings--and their defeat--was of very great importance to the subsequent course of modern society. Machine-wrecking, a principal weapon, pre-dates this period, to be sure; Darvall accurately termed it "perennial" throughout the 18th century, in good times and bad. And it was certainly not confined to either textile workers or England. Farm workers, miners, millers, and many others joined in destroying machinery, often against what would generally be termed their own "economic interests." Similarly, as Fülöp-Miller reminds us, there were the workers of Eurpen and Aix-la-Chapelle who destroyed the important Cockerill Works, the spinners of Schmollen and Crimmitschau who razed the mills of those towns, and countless others at the dawn of the Industrial Revolution.

Nevertheless, it was the English cloth workers--knitters, weavers, spinners, croppers, shearmen, and the like--who initiated a movement, which "in sheer insurrectionary fury has rarely been more widespread in English history," as Thompson wrote, in what is probably an understatement. Though generally characterized as a blind, unorganized, reactionary, limited, and ineffective upheaval, this "instinctive" revolt against the new economic order was very successful for a time and had revolutionary aims. It was strongest in the more developed areas, the central and northern parts of the country especially. The *Times* of February 11, 1812 described "the appearance of open warfare" in England. Vice-Lieutenant Wood wrote to Fitzwilliam in the government on June 17, 1812 that "except for the very spots which were occupied by Soldiers, the Country was virtually in the possession of

the lawless."

The Luddites indeed were irresistible at several moments in the second decade of the century and developed a very high morale and self-consciousness. As Cole and Postgate put it, "Certainly there was no stopping the Luddites. Troops ran up and down helplessly, baffled by the silence and connivance of the workers." Further, an examination of newspaper accounts, letters and leaflets reveals insurrection as the stated intent; for example, "all Nobles and tyrants must be brought down," read part of a leaflet distributed in Leeds. Evidence of explicit general revolutionary preparations was widely available in both Yorkshire and Lancashire, for instance, as early as 1812.

An immense amount of property was destroyed, including vast numbers of textile frames which had been redesigned for the production of inferior goods. In fact, the movement took its name from young Ned Ludd, who, rather than do the prescribed shoddy work, took a sledge-hammer to the frames at hand. This insistence on either the control of the productive processes or the annihilation of them fired the popular imagination and brought the Luddites virtually unanimous support. Hobsbawm declared that there existed an "overwhelming sympathy for machine-wreckers in all parts of the population," a condition which by 1813, according to Churchill, "had exposed the complete absence of means of preserving public order." Frame-breaking had been made a capital offense in 1812 and increasing numbers of troops had to be dispatched, to a point exceeding the total Wellington had under his command against Napoleon. The army, however, was not only spread very thin, but was often found unreliable due to its own sympathies and the presence of many conscripted Luddites in the ranks. Likewise, the local magistrates and constabulary could not be counted upon, and a massive spy system proved ineffective against the real solidarity of the populace. As might be guessed the volunteer militia, as detailed under the Watch and Ward Act, served only to "arm the most powerfully disaffected," according to the Hammonds, and thus the modern professional police system had to be instituted, from the time of Peel.

Required against what Mathias termed "the attempt to destroy the new society," was a weapon much closer to the point of production, namely the furtherance of an acceptance of the fundamental order in the form of trade unionism. Though it is clear that the promotion of trade unionism was a conse-

quence of Luddism as much as the creation of the modern police was, it must also be realized that there had existed a long-tolerated tradition of unionism among the textile workers and others prior to the Luddite risings. Hence, as Morton and Tate almost alone point out, the machine-breaking of this period cannot be viewed as the despairing outburst of workers having no other outlet. Despite the Combination Acts, which were an unenforced ban on unions between 1799 and 1824, Luddism did not move into a vacuum but was successful for a time in opposition to the refusal of the extensive union apparatus to compromise capital. In fact, the choice between the two was available and the unions were thrown aside in favor of the direct self-organization of workers and their radical aims.

During the period in question it is quite clear that unionism was seen as fundamentally distinct from Luddism and promoted as such, in the hope of absorbing the Luddite autonomy. Contrary to the fact of the Combination Acts, unions were often held to be legal in the courts, for example; and when unionists were prosecuted they generally received light punishment or none whatever, whereas the Luddites were usually hanged. Some members of Parliament openly blamed the owners for the social distress, for not making full use of the trade union path of escape. This is not to say that union objectives and control were as clear or pronounced as they are today, but the indispensable role of unions vis-à-vis capital was becoming clear, illuminated by the crisis at hand and the felt necessity for allies in the pacification of the workers. Members of Parliament in the Midlands counties urged Governor Henson, head of the Framework Knitters Union, to combat Luddism--as if this was needed. His method of promoting restraint was of course his tireless advocacy of the extension of union strength. The Framework Knitters Committee of the union, according to Church's study of Nottingham, "issued specific instructions to workmen not to damage frames." And the Nottingham Union, the major attempt at a general industrial union, likewise set itself against Luddism and never employed violence.

If unions were hardly the allies of the Luddites, it can only be said that they were the next stage after Luddism in the sense that unionism played the critical role in its defeat, through the divisions, confusion, and deflection of energies the unions engineered. It "replaced" Luddism in the same way that it rescued the manu-

facturers from the taunts of the children in the streets, from the direct power of the producers. Thus the full recognition of unions in the repeal laws in 1824 and 1825 of the Combination Acts "had a moderating effect upon popular discontent," in Darvall's words. The repeal efforts, led by Place and Hume, easily passed an unreformed Parliament, by the way, with much pro-repeal testimony from employers as well as unionists, with only a few reactionaries opposed. In fact, while the conservative arguments of Place and Hume included a prediction of fewer strikes post-repeal, many employers understood the cathartic, pacific role of strikes and were not much dismayed by the rash of strikes which attended repeal. The repeal Acts of course officially delimited unionism to its traditional marginal wages and hours concern, a legacy of which is the universal presence of "management's rights" clauses in collective bargaining contracts to the present period.

The mid-1830's campaign against unions by some employers only underlined in its way the central role of unions: the campaign was possible only because the unions had succeeded so well against the radicality of the unmediated workers in the previous period. Hence, Lecky was completely accurate later in the century when he judged that "there can be little doubt that the largest, wealthiest and best-organized Trade Unions have done much to diminish labor conflicts," just as the Webbs also conceded in the 19th century that there existed much more labor revolt before unionism became the rule.

But to return to the Luddites, we find very few first-person accounts and a virtually secret tradition mainly because they projected themselves through their acts, seemingly unmediated by ideology. What was it really all about? Stearns, perhaps as close as the commentators come, wrote "The Luddites developed a doctrine based on the presumed virtues of manual methods." He all but calls them "backward-looking wretches" in his condescension, yet there is a grain of truth here certainly. The attack of the Luddites was not occasioned by the introduction of new machinery, however, as is commonly thought, for there is no evidence of such in 1811 and 1812 when Luddism proper began. Rather, the destruction was leveled at the new slipshod methods which were ordered into effect on the extant machinery. Not an attack against production on economic grounds, it was above all the violent response of the textile



workers (soon joined by others) to their attempted degradation in the form of inferior work; shoddy goods--the hastily-assembled "cut-ups," primarily--was the issue at hand. While Luddite offensives generally corresponded to periods of economic downturn, it was because employers often took advantage of these periods to introduce new production methods. But it was also true that not all periods of privation produced Luddism, as it was that Luddism appeared in areas not particularly distressed. Leicestershire, for instance, was the least hit by hard times and it was an area producing the finest quality woolen goods; Leicestershire was a strong center for Luddism. To wonder what was so radical about a movement which seemed to demand "only" the cessation of fraudulent work, is to fail to perceive the inner truth of the valid assumption, made on every side, of the connection between frame-breaking and sedition. As if the fight by the producer for the integrity of his work-life can be made without calling the whole of capitalism

into question. The demand for the cessation of fraudulent work necessarily becomes a cataclysm, an all-or-nothing battle insofar as it is pursued; it leads directly to the heart of the capitalist relationship and its dynamic.

Another element of the Luddite phenomenon generally treated with condescension, by the method of ignoring it altogether, is the organizational aspect. Luddites, as we all know, struck out wildly and blindly, while the unions provide the only organized form to the workers. But in fact, the Luddites organized themselves locally and even federally, including workers from all trades, with an amazing, spontaneous coordination. Eschewing an alienating structure, their organization was neither formal nor permanent. Their revolt tradition was without a center and existed largely as an "unspoken code"; theirs was a non-manipulative community, organization which trusted itself. All this, of course, was essential to the depth of Luddism, to the appeal at its roots. In practice, "no degree

of activity by the magistrates or by large reinforcements of military deterred the Luddites." Every attack revealed planning and method," stated Thompson, who also gave credit to their "superb security and communications." An army officer in Yorkshire understood their possession of "a most extraordinary degree of concert and organization." William Cobbett wrote, concerning a report to the government in 1812: "And this is the circumstance that will most puzzle the ministry. They can find no agitators. It is a movement of the people's own."

Coming to the rescue of the authorities, however, despite Cobbett's frustrated comments, was the leadership of the Luddites. Theirs was not a completely egalitarian movement, though this element may have been closer to the mark than was their appreciation of how much was within their grasp and how narrowly it eluded them. Of course, it was from among the leaders that "political sophistication" issued most effectively in time, just as it was from them that union cadres developed in some cases.

In the "pre-political" days of the Luddites--developing in our "post-political" days, too--the people openly hated their rulers. They cheered Pitt's death in 1806 and, more so, Perceval's assassination in 1812. These celebrations at the demise of prime ministers bespoke the weakness of mediations between rulers and ruled, the lack of integration between the two. The political enfranchisement of the workers was certainly less important than their industrial enfranchisement or integration, via unions; it proceeded the more slowly for this reason. Nevertheless, it is true that a strong weapon of pacification was the strenuous effort made to interest the population in legal activities, namely the drive to widen the electoral basis of Parliament. Cobbett, described by many as the most powerful pamphleteer in English history, induced many to join Hampden Clubs in pursuit of voting reform, and was also noted, in the words of Davis, for his "outspoken condemnation of the Luddites." The pernicious effects of this divisive reform campaign can be partially measured by comparing such robust earlier demonstrations of anti-government wrath as the Gordon Riots (1780) and the mobbing of the King in London (1795) with such massacres and fiascos as the Pentridge and Peterloo "risings," which coincided roughly with the defeat of Luddism just before 1820.

But to return, in conclusion, to more fundamental mechanisms, we again confront the problem of work and unionism. The latter, it must be agreed, was made permanent upon the

effective divorce of the worker from control of the instruments of production--and unionism itself contributed most critically to this divorce, as we have seen. Some, certainly including the Marxists, see this defeat and its form, the victory of the factory system, as both an inevitable and desirable outcome, though even they must admit that in work execution resides a significant part of the direction of industrial operations even now. A century after Marx, Galbraith located the guarantee of the system of productivity over creativity in the unions' basic renunciation of any claims regarding work itself. But work, as all ideologists sense, is an area closed off to permanent falsification. Thus modern mediators ignore the unceasing universal Luddite contest over control of the productive processes, even as every form of "employee participation" is now promoted.

In the early trade union movement there existed a good deal of democracy. Widespread, for example, was the practice of designating delegates by rotation or by lot. But what cannot be legitimately democratized is the real defeat at the root of the unions' victory, which makes them the organization of complicity, a mockery of community. Form on this level cannot disguise unionism, the agent of acceptance and maintenance of a grotesque world.

The Marxian quantification elevates productivity as the *summum bonum*, as leftists likewise ignore the ending of the direct power of the producers and so manage, incredibly, to espouse unions as all that untutored workers can have. The opportunism and elitism of all the Internationals, indeed the history of leftism, sees its product finally in fascism, when accumulated confines bring their result. When fascism could successfully appeal to workers as the removal of inhibitions, as the "Socialism of Action," etc.--as revolutionary--it should be clear how much was buried with the Luddites.

There are those who already again fix the label of "age of transition" on today's growing crisis, hoping all will turn out nicely in another defeat for the Luddites. We see today the same need to enforce work discipline as in the earlier period, perhaps even the same awareness by the population of the meaning of "progress." Quite possibly we now can recognize all our enemies the more clearly, so that this time the transition can be in the hands of the creators.

*This essay was reprinted from Elements of Refusal, published this year by Left Bank Books (Box B, 92 Pike St., Seattle, WA. 98101). It first appeared in the April 1976 issue of Fifth Estate (POB 02548, Detroit, MI. 48202).*

**factories don't  
burn down  
by themselves...**

Learn to Burn.

**they need help  
from you.**



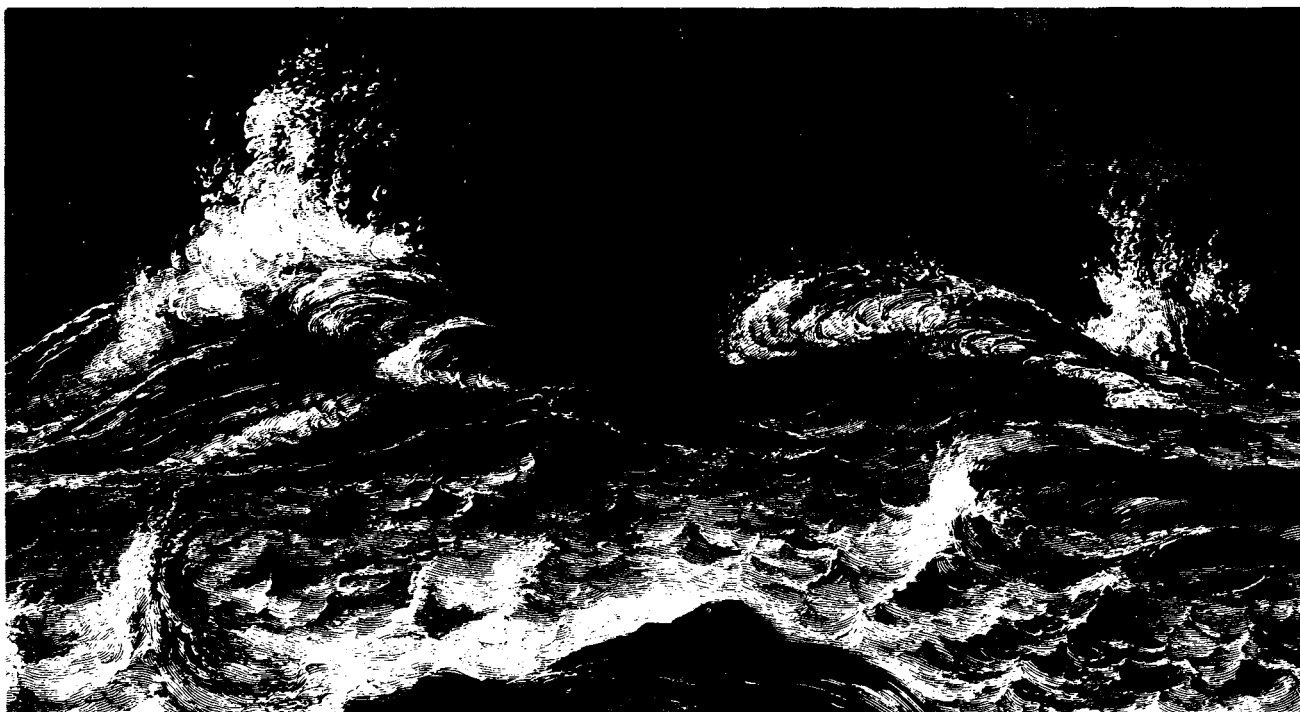
Anonymous poster produced by modern-day Luddites  
--a "fire prevention" poster subverted.

## Introduction

Lone Wolf Circles describes himself as "a poet-artist-musician living on an ancient Indian ruin 7 river crossings from a road." He says he is "an organizer for the C.D.s of Earth First!, the [sic] radical environmental movement," and that his "performances have led to illegal acts as well as spiritual insight."

His polemical "poem" which follows was written in response to my brief "Note on Biocentrism" published in *Anarchy* #16 (Summer 1988) in which I criticized its adherents' ideological attempts to theorize and evaluate the world from the imagined perspective of Nature, while denying the inalienable centrality of our own human perspectives. The poem is followed in turn by further comments from me.

-Lev Chernyi



# The Freedom of Biocentrism: A Poem

by Lone Wolf Circles

Exclusively human-centered ideology, "anthropocentrism," has resulted in the loss of our sense of "place" in the rhythm of symbiotic life, and the oppressive, artificial order that replaces it.

Biocentrism isn't the non-human perspective, but the perspective of a unified natural world of which humans are an inseparable part. Biocentrism is awareness of the whole, and "deep ecology" is a pantheist's "liberation theology."

Time for a right-brain party instead of a left-brain paradigm, no matter how uninhibiting the new structures are. Time to dance the explosive moment, explore our true, natural selves.

Slipping through gently-parted reeds is far more "real," more vividly experienced in every sector of one's being, than slipping through the electrified corridors of our limited cognition. Deep ecology is an admittedly flawed attempt to create a conscious vestige of the "universal soul," spirit beyond mind, the living Earth-body. It is not anti-thought, but relegates this ceaseless commentary to our petty planetary mind, preferring instead to "think" with the heart, regain a global objectivity by submerging in the intense animal **subjectivity** of our wild inner-being. It is a call, not like the lunatic ring of the telephone, but the lyrical notes of the loon. It calls on us to delve into the repressed memories encoded in our cellular matrix, the integrity of the DNA helix, forgotten instincts and the unbound play of a shared subconscious.

"A finger pointing at the moon is not the moon." (Stolen Zen proverb)

Our highly developed prattle is arduously cultivated like limited and uniform rows of wheat, planted on a once diverse and unpredictable wilderness of potential, impounding perception, strangling spontaneity, processed into the full but nutritionally bankrupt wonder bread of our cultural intellects. We are prisoners of even our most radical thought, thrust into lethargic conceptual welfare lines, waiting for handouts of inspiration like blocks of government cheese. We are all "trapped housewives," handmaidens to a predictable and domineering husband: "the word." We are all only slightly rebellious children, running to a "safe," dark alley to trade concepts like baseball cards, pretending to have discovered a "new one."

We really **can't** be controlled--only tricked or bribed or cajoled into controlling ourselves.

I grew myself up in experimental anarchy, a thirteen year-old runaway from military school on the sweltering streets of L.A., where "wildlife" meant making a bonfire out of the benches at Griffith Park. We wrote revolution in the blood of our wounds, on the limitless parking lots of Orange County and the sterile "shopping-malls" of the Valley. Throwing off the most obvious leashes of corporate subservience, sexist roles, materialist anorexia, we still fell victim to our own imbalance. Our raw urban creed replaced the smooth, packaged authoritarianism we threw out with our designer TVs. We were conscious and deliberate outlaws, not criminals of the system. Living outside the established code but with "no contact with the real and elemental necessities" of our primal selves, our lost tribe...

We all thought of ourselves as anarchists then, both the asshole with the ripped-off metal police flashlight and my companion, whose busted head spilled his dreams onto my lap. Free to live. Free to die.

There are no innocents. We are

all guilty by reason of our action and our inaction, semi-conscious members of a human-pox, a self-serving species whose left-brain grasp of technology has turned individual greed into wholesale destruction. The ultimate irony lies in the suicide of our own species as the destruction of strands leads to the complete unwinding of the entire web of life. We had fled from the system's imposed values, but developed no new ones.

We fled the traps of organized religion but denied ourselves the sheer delight of personal spiritual experience.

Thousands of years of hierarchical injustice in the name of morality doesn't mean that "higher values" don't exist, only that (appropriately named) "mankind's" civilized infirmities prevent their recognition and manifestation. Oppressive regimes, whether political or cultural, are as much an expression of freed human desire as is anarchism, in this case the companion desires to lead and be led. Desire in itself is no basis for a personal creed, twisted as it is in every way by what we're fed. Technocracies thrive through their ability to manipulate our desires with pressure to conform and Madison Avenue imagery. Somewhere in the deep recesses of our natural beings and the unseen folds of the future, highest values and innate desire share the same spark of light.

I hold that one has only to jump (not fall!) from the airy academic heights into the primordial soup of disappearing wilderness--climb a mountain without gear, walk hungry in canyonland moonlight, absorb the wordless messages encrowled in Anasazi petroglyphs, poetically bending flowers, chilling winds, unnamed sounds, the steady discernable beat of the heart of the sacred Mother Earth--to perceive these most real patterns, the unified pattern to which we all belong. Slide down smooth gullies in the pitch black, thrust your fingers into

wet moss on rotting logs, feel your toes spread out and enter the soil like exploratory roots, let the desert dawn bake away your verbal tracts like steam evaporating off the rim-rock, then tell me what it means to be alive and free!

There is no chaos, only unperceived patterns! Freedom is a goal for those who can't discern them yet, a natural fact of those who have. Freedom to swim against the tide begins with the knowledge of which way the currents really flow.

The greatest failure of spiritual or deep ecologists has been our unwillingness to identify the human causes and social injustices growing out of the techno-patriarchal monopoly of the last two centuries. It's as much a mistake to ignore the symptoms (like social control and the realities of "real-politik") as it is for social revolutionaries to deny freedom and integrity to the myriad other lifeforms. There is only **one** struggle. You become either part of the cure or remain part of the problem. We agree that nothing is sacrosanct--while the natural world of which we are an inextricable part is, indeed, **sacred**. No amount of reduction by vested churches or haughty pragmatists can erase this tangible fact. The greater mystical reality exists with or without our approval. We have only to get out, silence ourselves, and open up to perceive it, there, just beyond the limits of our sight.

We've always championed the "little guy," defended the small farmer against the agribusiness leviathan, supported Sandino against Somoza, and the Miskito Indians against the Sandinistas. It's one more step to defending the "littlest guys:" the countless other species evaluated by our consumerist K-Mart consciousness, dragged through the killing fields, domesticated into subservient reflections of a drooling, uninspired paradigm, or stood up against the red-splattered wall of extinction.

With neither a philosophical



vocabulary nor a formula, those plants and animals we look down on as inferior are often more in tune, more acutely aware, freer than we are. We are at our best only equal, made worthy by our revolutionary refusal, our unbending intent, our direct action and our undying love...

You cannot cage, clearcut, exploit, vivisect the remaining wilds without simultaneously jailing, crushing, paving over our own wildest potential.

We do to ourselves the worst of what we do to other lifeforms. Human spirit is flattened and demeaned to the lowest level of our vic-tims. Wilderness is the negation of control--it is ultimately radical.

Deep ecologists are spiritual warriors, not moralists. We seek to make the magic accessible again to our distracted species, not to impose it on them. We fight with no illusion of victory, but because it is unequivocally right. The "great spirit" is balance, and we are only a small part of the counter-weight recently thrown on the scale, a scale which may tip away again from sameness and regulation, but with the weight of our seemingly self-made holocausts and the Earth's cleansing rejection. We're thankful that it's out of our hands, out of control!

We have not escaped. We cannot escape.

"We have met the enemy, and it is us." (Slogan from the '60s)

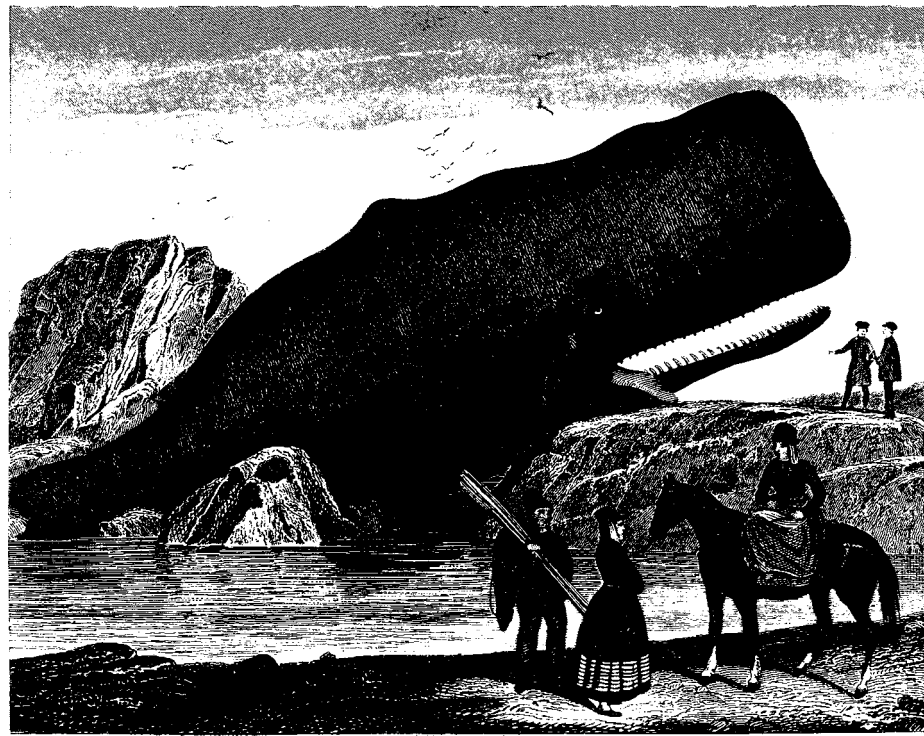
The fundamental and exacting process of evolving (re-volving) from an anthropocentric to a bio-centric viewpoint is not a simple matter of inversion, of standing on our heads to see in new ways. It is a much more painful transformation, one of busting the intransigent ribcage protecting our assuredness and comfort--protecting those assigned seats at the front of the bus supposedly awarded by divine selection or rationalist human exploit. It is a matter of tearing open one's preconception, bloodily exposing a vulnerable "original being," until we can see through the eyes of our still-beating sacrificial hearts. Not a matter of turning upside-down, but of turning inside-out. Unleashing the perception of the wild animals within us. True freedom is the liberation of this animal inside in unchained dance, freed to tear apart the researcher's voluminous file cabinet, urinate on the keeper's desk, rip the screens off the social laboratory's windows and run back into the "great outdoors." Out-of-doors, beyond constraint, instinctively devouring predictability, rendering habit and uncertainty into visceral parts displayed on billboard sidewalks.

True freedom is the lifezone of our felonious animal souls, skipping school, skipping even the radical meeting held after, skipping the bars and the facile entertainment of the masses, adroitly scampering on bared feet across that distant primordial savannah, the milieu of evolution and change, way out there--on that endless savannah within!

Too often we seem to flail around, arguing the fine points of

our ideologies like an unaware or unrepentant cancer right before the death of the host-body, a bubbling yeast growing people and concepts until finally strangling in the ferment of its own shit.

The real struggle is not deciding



which patch of resistance to sew on our jackets, but in shedding all uniforms, exposing a natural creature unencumbered by even our highest of ideals, our most cherished of alliances--exposing flesh resensitized, wordless, each pore of

the skin gaping in awe, hungry for experience, glad to be alive!

You have only to step outside--outside the books, the rhetoric, the cars and houses and cities that insulate us from sensation--outside ourselves to see even further than our experiments in extrication to a higher order, a natural pattern that is ever-changing yet omnipresent. Like a river, like the designs in fire and water and tree bark and the prophetic grain of our bones. It's not a pattern imposed from some exterior source, but an inner pattern we must only leap into to be a part of again. It guides without restraint, gives form without robbing motion.

"Nature is a flood and" (know it or not) "we are all in it." (John Muir)

For the sake of other lifeforms, for wilderness, for our own forgotten wildness, for continuing evolution, we must only remember. Remember our own place in this freer, natural order, this motive sacred-hoop of life.

Re-member. Reconnect. A tactile, erotic, responsive eruption. We have a mission, and we are it!

## If nature abhors ideologies... biocentrism is no exception

A reply by Lev Chernyi

It is often sadly true that those who seem to most forcefully advocate "freedom" don't understand what it really is that they are saying. An archetypal example of this is the ignorant patriot who believes that he is "free" because he slavishly follows the orders of the official chain of command down from the current head of state of his "sacred" fatherland or motherland.

Unfortunately, this same type of phenomenon is too often also found among those self-professed "radicals" whose critiques of the current structures of power have been arrested at some point along the way. Thus we have Christian "radicals" for whom "freedom" means following "the will of God." There are Marxist-Leninists who advocate the "liberation" of the working class through the dictatorship of a political party over the workers. Is it any wonder that we now have an example of a biocentrist who demands a wildly evocative "freedom" only to then subordinate its exercise to the demands of the ideology of biocentrism?

Much of what Lone Wolf says in his lyrical response to my note criticizing biocentrism makes perfect sense, only to be immediately undermined and overturned by his recurrent pledges of allegiance to the biocentric ideology. Which is not to say, of course, that I would ever agree with the straw-dog "anthropocentrism" which is set up to be constantly whipped by the deep ecologists. The problem here is that both biocentrism and anthropocentrism are abstract and alienating expressions of the attempt of ecologists and lovers of wilderness to reorient themselves and break away from the dominant patterns of ideological thought, found in

the "lethargic conceptual welfare lines." But instead of identifying what is most central to our experience and consistently expressing our lived freedom within nature, biocentrism provides just one more ready-made conceptual schema to tell us how to live our lives, how to feel, and how to be free.

The anthropocentrism/biocentrism dichotomy simply doesn't lend itself to a discourse which can express our unconstrained animal natures. Instead, no matter which side of the divide one might find oneself placed on, it isolates us from an external Nature--which it idealizes--as well as from our own internal natures--which it sees as merely "greedy" and "bankrupt." It is consistently deployed for moralistic and ideological purposes (i.e. to control our behavior according to external norms). Thus for Lone Wolf the moralist, "There are no innocents. We are all guilty...." And then, as if the one side of a contradiction could cancel out the other, "Deep ecologists are spiritual warriors, not moralists."

Why not dump all the worthless and self-defeating ideological, moralistic, and spiritual garbage? If we're going to be genuinely free, this must mean that we are free to follow our own desires. We don't need any "higher values." "Higher" than what? The Empire State Building? "Higher" for whom? Certainly not for me.

If we're natural beings in a natural world, why do we need any "sacred," "spiritual," or "moral" concepts and values to tell us what to do? If, as Lone Wolf points out, we've lived through "Thousands of years of hierarchical injustice in the name of morality," shouldn't it begin to dawn in our thick skulls that maybe moralism and hierarchy are two sides of the same

coin? That spiritualism and civilization may just be fraternal twins?

Why not take all the noise about "the intense animal **subjectivity** of our wild inner-being" seriously after all, refusing to impose on it the abstract schemas of morality, spiritualism and ideology? Why "run to a 'safe,' dark alley to trade" one ideology for another "like baseball cards," when we could be done with them altogether? If "Desire in itself is no basis for a personal creed," doesn't this suggest that we might be better off without any creeds?

If biocentrism is, indeed, the rarefied "perspective of a unified natural world of which humans are an inseparable part", then it's most obviously **not** the underlying, subjective perspective of any living, breathing, hungry, lusty, dancing, pissing, screaming human animal that I've ever known. It is a "non-human" perspective precisely in the sense that it ideologically demands that we look at the world as if we **really did** have direct access to such an abstract and overly-rationalized point of view. We certainly can **imagine** this perspective, and it may at times be a worthwhile pursuit to use this imagined perspective to help us maintain our overall orientation in the highly symbolic cultural world we inhabit within our larger natural world. But in our own lived realities we are each only a small part of the overall nature we find ourselves within. Our own perspectives open out on a natural world, but directly because of this fact we thus cannot possibly really see the world from any "higher" point of view than our own. Is there any reason to continue demanding the impossible from ourselves?

# ANARCHY & RELIGION

## —the dialogue continues

### Introduction

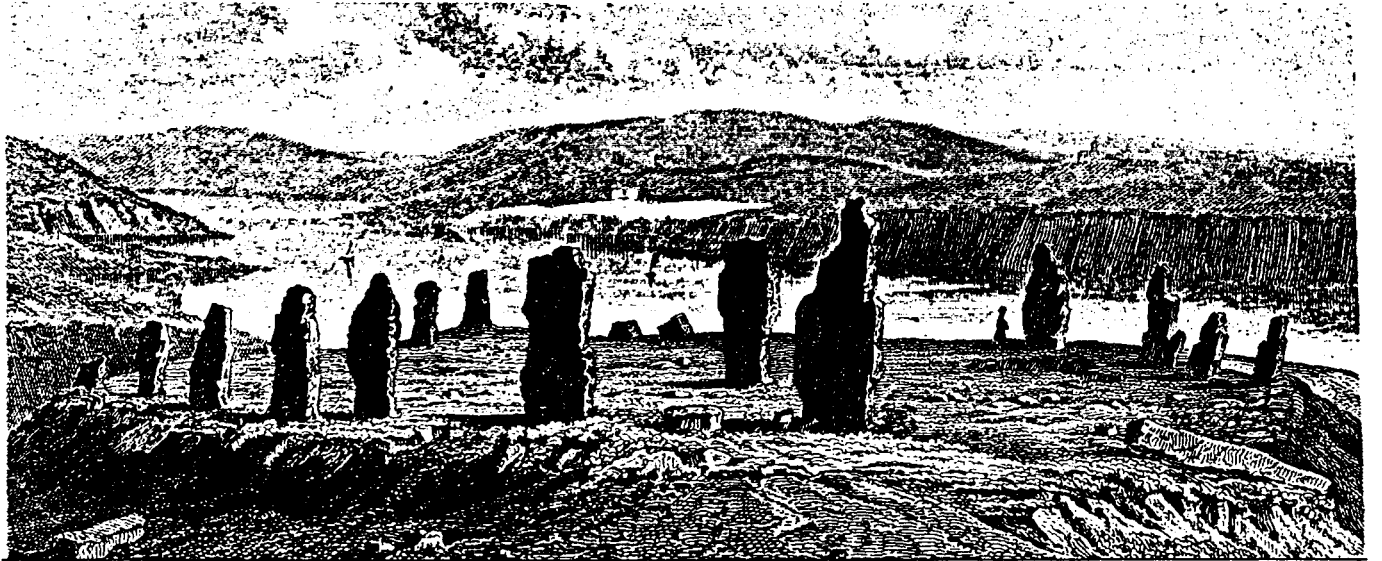
The essay and letters which follow continue a discussion which began in *Anarchy* #15. The relation of anarchy to religion has been disputed for as long as the anarchist movement has existed. Michael Bakunin's pyrotechnic denunciations of God and religion in the last century were nearly contemporary with Leo Tolstoy's anarchic Christianity. The often uncompromising atheism of the Spanish anarchist revolutionaries (who had to face all the pressures of a Catholic state religion allied with the Spanish fascists) can be contrasted with some of the more religious of the pacifist anarchists here in the U.S. like Ammon Hennoc, and Dorothy Day with her Catholic Worker Movement.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that historically the religious strands of thought and action which have sought to penetrate the anarchist movement have always and nearly everywhere been in the minority when they haven't simply been non-existent. And to this day it would seem fairly obvious that most anarchists worldwide remain atheists, with many still claiming, as did Fred Woodworth (in his essay which opened this discussion), that a special relationship exists between atheism and anarchy.

Yet, as Jay Kinney attempted to indicate in his essays which followed, there is a very real sense in which many of the struggles between atheism and religion seem to resemble the skirmishes of two lumbering battleships squared off with their big guns firing, but for some reason always missing any of their most vital targets. There is a real sense in which all the usual arguments made from both sides of the divide have only proved their impotence, if not their irrelevance. For too long the religion-vs.-atheism debate has been stuck in a nearly frozen embrace of mutually ineffectual critique, each side trying to knock over the other's illusions which at the same time desperately trying to preserve its own behind defenses of dogma, narrow-mindedness and fear of the unknown.

It's time we moved beyond such bankrupt posturing. It's time we embarked on our own voyages of genuine self-reflection and self-discovery in order to at last find what lies over the horizons which have been too long concealed by these mutual evasions. For just as the "Cold War" between "Democratic Capitalism" and "Marxist Communism" serves to collusively hide the more central struggles between authority and anarchy, the lumbering religious and atheist orthodoxies hide the more genuine struggles between frozen, reified, ideological thought and our impulses to live freely and fully.

For those with the curiosity and courage to explore this new terrain the rewards are potentially immense. For those too afraid to step out from behind their dogmatic defenses and impenetrable evasions of communication, these arguments will remain only misunderstood threats to business-as-usual. Readers are invited to continue this discussion in our upcoming issues.



## The Quest for the Spiritual; A Basis for a Radical Analysis of Religion

by Feral Faun

This civilized, technological, commodity culture in which we live is a wasteland. For most people, most of the time, life is dull and empty, lacking vibrancy, adventure, passion and ecstasy. It's no surprise that many people search beyond the realm of their normal daily existence for something more. It is in this light that we need to understand the quest for the spiritual.

Of course, many, if not most, religious people are not really questing for anything. Religion provides them with dogmas, easy answers which allow them to stop thinking, feeling or acting for themselves. I feel nothing but disgust for their mindless, dogmatic spirituality and will deal no further with it. It is rather with sincere spiritual questing that I wish to deal.

I was raised a fundamentalist Christian, so I have first-hand experience of one of the most repressive forms of religion. A few—though very few—fundamentalists are truly questing for something more. I was one of these. I questioned, I probed, I sought for the intense depth of passion that this religion promised but that its practitioners rarely manifested. I decided to study for the ministry, not because I wanted to be a minister, but because I hoped to gain a greater understanding of the spiritual. During my studies, I left my fundamentalism behind, embracing a Christian mysticism which combined aspects of pentecostalism, Tolstoyan anarcho-pacifism and non-violent millenarian revolutionism.

In order to better live this "radical Christianity," I dropped out of college and wandered around the country visiting "radical Christian" communes. I finally settled in a commune in

Washington, D.C., because they really seemed to be doing something. Within a few months, my attempts to live my faith came to a head. I was putting all my strength and energy into actively expressing the "radical" self-sacrifice that I believed would transform the world into the kingdom of god. Twelve hours a day, I worked on a project designed to help poor ghetto-dwellers create a housing cooperative in which they would collectively own and control their housing. My energy gave out. When I called on god to help me, he wasn't there to answer. When I was most dedicated to him, the god I had trusted all my life failed me. As a result, I had a nervous breakdown and went through several months of severe depression. What finally brought me out of it was recognizing that there was no god, there was no reason to expend myself in absurd self-sacrifice and my energy would be best used in creating my own life.

My rejection of Christianity and god first took the form of a crass mechanistic materialism, but someone who had so passionately pursued the spiritual could never be satisfied with a dead mechanistic view of reality. So I dissected Christianity—my two and a half years of theological studies was useful in this—and compared and contrasted other religions. I already knew that Christianity was dualistic, dividing reality into spirit and matter. I discovered that this dualism was common to all religions with the possible exceptions of some forms of Taoism and Buddhism. I also discovered something quite insidious about the flesh/spirit dichotomy. Religion proclaims the realm of spirit to be the realm of freedom, of creativity, of beauty, of ecstasy, of joy, of wonder, of life itself. In contrast, the realm of matter is the realm of dead mechanical activity, of grossness, of work, of slavery, of suffering, of sorrow. The earth, the creatures on it, even our own bodies were impediments to our spiritual growth, or at best, tools to be exploited. What a perfect ideological justification for the exploitative activities of civilization.



# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion

But I don't believe religion necessarily developed purely as a way of justifying exploitation. Much more likely is that as exploitation immiserated the lives of people, the ecstatic joy of wild existence and of the flesh unrepressed became fainter and fainter memories until at last they seemed to be not of this world at all. This world was the world of travail (from the Latin root word which gives all the Romance languages their word for work) and sorrow. Joy and ecstasy had to be of another realm--the realm of spirit. Early religion is wildly orgiastic, clearly reflecting the lost way of life for which people longed. But by separating this wild abandon into the realm of spirit, which is in reality just a realm of abstract ideas with no concrete existence, religion made itself the handmaiden of civilized, domesticated culture. So it is no surprise that in time shamans evolved into priests who were functionaries of the state.

Religion--which started as an attempt, clearly flawed, to regain the ecstasy of unconstrained pleasure--as the hand-maiden of authority had to take a different stance toward pleasure. For the most part, religion has declared pleasure to be gross, evil, or a distraction from "higher" spiritual pursuits. Present pleasure was to be repressed for a future paradise. A few schools of religious thought took a different tactic. Since pleasure could so clearly induce ecstasy, these schools said that it was fine to practice these activities as long as it was done in the right way, at the right time, for purely spiritual purposes. The spontaneous, playful expressions of pleasure were strongly discouraged as they distracted from the spiritual expressions of these practices. The puritanism and productivist orientation to pleasure in some tantric and sex-magickal texts is astounding. In these spiritual practices, pleasure is subverted from its natural course in which it would create a world of free play and is transformed into spiritual work.

The rejection of religion in recent centuries has mainly taken the form of crass, mechanistic materialism. But this is not truly a rejection of religion. This form of materialism still accepts the matter/spirit dichotomy--but then proclaims that spirit does not exist. Thus, freedom, creativity, beauty, ecstasy, life as something more than mere mechanical existence are utterly eradicated from the world. Mechanistic materialism is the ideology of religion updated to fit the needs of industrial capitalism. For industrial capitalism requires not only a deadened, dispirited earth, but deadened, dispirited human beings who can be made into cogs in a vast machine.

But there have been other rebellions against religious ideology. I am most familiar with those that arose in Christian Europe. In their most radical expressions, the Free Spirits, the Adamites and the Ranters utterly rejected the flesh/spirit dichotomy, claimed paradise for the

earth in the present, claimed divinity for themselves as physical beings and rejected the concept of sin and absolute morality. At their best, they were radically anti-religious. They used religious language in a way that turned religion on its head and undermined its basis. It seems that these anti-religious radicals weren't aware of the full implications of what they were doing, and because of that their rebellion was recuperated where it wasn't simply wiped out.

Industrial capitalism and its attendant ideology, mechanistic materialism, have drained the life and beauty from our experience of the world. We have been taught to distrust our own experience and to accept as "knowledge" the word of authority as found in textbooks, heard in lectures or poured into us by television or other media. And the picture of reality we are spoon-fed is so joyless, so lacking in passion, that if there is any feeling left in us, we must have something more. Because religion has usurped the passion from the world, its language is often quite passionate, ecstatic, even erotic. It certainly sounds like the place to look for the depth of feeling and wild creativity for which we long. In my own explorations, I experimented with mystical practices and magical ritual. And both within the context of these experiments and outside of that context in wilderness areas, I have had experiences which don't fit into the framework of a mechanistic materialist worldview. Certainly, religion could provide a framework for those experiences.

But, ultimately, religion fails to meet "spiritual" needs. It fails because it declares those needs to be spiritual--of a nonworldly realm--and so cannot deal with their roots. For it is civilization with its need to exploit the earth, and most especially industrial civilization for which even humans must become mere cogs in a huge machine, that drains our lives of beauty, of creativity, of passion, of ecstasy. William Blake said, "If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear as it is: infinite." And I know our senses can be doors to vast worlds of wonder. I have experienced as much. But our senses have been bound to the needs of production and consumption, and so made incapable of experiencing the vibrant life that is the physical world on a moment-to-moment basis.

Religion claims to give us back the freedom, the creativity, the passionate fullness of life that was stolen from us, but, in fact, is part of the conspiracy to keep this fullness from us. In relegating creativity, passion, freedom and ecstasy to the realm of the spiritual, religion safely takes them out of the realm of daily life and puts them in their "proper" place where they cannot become a threat to civilization--the realm of ritual and ceremony. My own experiments with magic and mystical practice taught me something interesting. When I looked back on my experiences without putting them in any sort of ideolo-

gical context--and without religious metaphors to obscure what was really going on, I realized that every one of these experiences was a physical, bodily, sensual experience, not an experience in some

sort of "spiritual" realm. But it was an experience of the senses free of their ideological, civilized chains. I was momentarily experiencing the world as a wild being, without me-

*Continued on next page*

## TEN THESES TOWARD THE END OF THE FLESH-SPIRIT DICHOTOMY

OR, RADICAL SPIRITUALITY  
IS RADICAL SENSUALITY  
OR IT IS NOTHING

Feral Ranter

**1.** The religious concept of spirituality tells us that spirituality is the denial of the flesh.

**2.** A spirited being is a "wild" one, one who is full of passion and, as much as possible, acts on it. A dispirited being is one who is empty, who has no energy to go on living, whose fires of passion have been quenched. Thus, spirit is obviously the totality of the passions and their energies.

**3.** Passions have their basis in the desire of the flesh.

**4.** The denial of the flesh is the denial of the passions and hence the denial of the spirit.

**5.** The religious call to deny the flesh must always become a call to deny the entire self, a call to make oneself not into a spiritual being, but into nothing. It is a call to self-annihilation.

**6.** God is said to be absolute spirit and yet to be totally without flesh. This is impossible. If god is absolute spirit, god must be absolute passion. If god is absolute passion, god must be absolute flesh. If god is without flesh, god is without passion. If god is without passion, god is without spirit and so is nothing.

**7.** Since most religions are adamant about god's fleshlessness, I must conclude that god is nothing.

**8.** The attempt to be godly is the attempt to be nothing.

**9.** Being nothing is the way of the dispirited.

**10.** Spirit is flesh actively pursuing its desires. To be spiritual, or as I prefer to put it, spirited, is to be fully and unrestrainedly passionate, sensual, fleshy, erotic. The eternal life of such sensuality is the fullness it gives each moment, making each moment the "deep, deep eternity" for which our passions call.

# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion

## The worst tyrant

I was fascinated by the discussion of religion in *Anarchy* #15.

The first point that was brought out is that, being everybody has a different perception of what religion actually is, everybody will have different reactions to it. My reactions against religion obviously stem from my experience with it, and nobody can really argue against my reactions on the basis of my exposure to religion being so limited.

I learned religion from mom and dad and the relatives, who had an obnoxious god-fearing stance and who also were very ignorant of the complexities and varieties of religion. But I think that I share a common experience with a great deal of people, particularly with the atheistic anarchists of Spain and Italy who shared a repressive Catholic education. It is not as important to discuss what Catholicism really is or was intended to be, as it is to discuss how it is practiced and how the people embrace its ideas.

When I was little, God was the

worst tyrant, because all the moral laws I was fed were followed up by "or you'll go to hell with the sinners." What I didn't realize is that if you removed God, people would find ways to keep their morals intact, and when I mean morals, I mean both the kind I retained (like the brotherhood of all people) and the kind I rejected (like sex is a sin).

To me, Bakunin was right when he said, "If god existed, he'd have to be abolished." I just don't believe in God. People have asked me, hypothetically, what I would do if there was a God. Well, if there were a God that needed to subjugate people and had to be obeyed because he loves you and has given you life, I'd have to argue that no real love or respect is borne in subjugation. And I don't care about arguments from the "progressive believers" who say that God is not there to humiliate you 'cause this has been the perception of God for many people, for many centuries, and redefining God is sort of like defining the State; you may create

a definition which negates its historical role, but until the reality of what God or the State are, as seen by most people (or those you are addressing) is actually transformed, to say that it is something different just creates more semantic and ideological ambiguity. When I talk of my opposition to God, I am opposed to the thought that power is given by people, rather than developed by them. I believe in the power of people to create, and of the historical responsibility of people for creating the world which exists. I believe in knowledge even though we don't know everything. What is beyond my comprehension, may not be beyond yours, beyond yours not mine, and beyond ours something that we just haven't figured out yet. There is no God, there's just us people, making the world go round (figuratively of course). If one day I'm proved wrong, so what?

We need more discussions of religion like the one in *Anarchy*. The primary thing that is wrong with religion is that it is taught as fact and not theory and thus does

not encourage us to determine its validity. We (of Catholic background) are given a whole list of threats, punishment should we not believe. The State says that whoever does not comply goes to jail, and in such a manner, both use coercion and fear. Free choice? What the hell is that? How can there be free choice when people's heads are turned into silly putty?

Knabb's article hit an important point: there are aspects of religion which struck popular support because they were based in goodness. It was these aspects that people like Tolstoy picked up. Although I am not uncritical of anything stemming from the church, I sometimes find myself seeing eye to eye with religious folk who just wanna see the world a more peaceful and loving place and sincerely want to help people. I think that somewhere inside we retain these positive teachings of religion, even if we reject all the tyranny. Maybe this is why we see an incorporation of these ideas into the anarchism of times and places which were (are) heavily religious. Often it borders on martyrdom in both cases.

Is anarchism a religion? Seems to have become what I'd call a non-monolithic religion. Communism is. God tyranny is rejected as being the tyranny of an abstraction embodied in a single unit. Perhaps we've just transferred this abstraction onto multiple units. Perhaps not.

PEOPLE ARE THE OPIATE OF THE PEOPLE.

L.A., Jamaica, NY.

## Religion reconsidered

Dear Anarchy,

I followed your discussion on religion and anarchy with keen interest. As a zen teacher who espouses an anarcho-taoist political philosophy, I found the articles dealt with many issues I have attempted to investigate. Because the material presented covers such a wide area, I have decided to respond to just a few points.

Re: dualism, the idea that the core of religious/spiritual experience lies in a metaphysical dualism does not mesh with my own understanding or experience. When confronted by explicitly monistic systems such as Vedanta, Yogacara Buddhism, Zen or Taoism, Chernyi simply asserts that if they really do not fall into dualism, then they aren't religions. I suggest that that assertion does not take into consideration the actual praxis of these philosophies which certainly manifests as religions.

Another point to bear in mind lies in the pluralistic religious systems which do not collapse into either monism or dualism. Some recent neo-pagan writers such as Margot Adler have asserted quite explicitly this metaphysical pluralism and I would suggest that one can understand Taoism as a religion more clearly from the point of view of a metaphysical pluralism. Also



## The Quest for the Spiritual

Continued from page 22

diation. It's interesting to note that the metaphor that I have found most useful in describing these experiences is the lycanthropic metaphor--I felt that I had turned into some non-human creature. Civilization has become so much a part of our definition of the human, that our minds seem to view experiences of uncivilized sensuality as experiences of inhuman sensuality. When religion defines these experiences, it destroys their sensuality and wildness, denies their bodily nature, and so civilizes them. Eventually, they fade. Religion

ceases to be orgiastic and turns dogmatic--and to those with any perception it becomes clear that religion is incapable of fulfilling its promise.

The revolutionary project must certainly include the end of religion--but not in the form of a simplistic acceptance of mechanistic materialism. Rather, we must seek to awaken our senses to the fullness of life that is the material world. We must oppose both religion and mechanistic materialism with a vibrant, passionate, living materialism. We must storm the

citadel of religion and reclaim the freedom, the creativity, the passion and the wonder that religion has stolen from our earth and our lives. In order to do this we will have to understand what needs and desires religion speaks to and how it fails to fulfill them. I have attempted to express some of my own explorations so that we can carry on the project of creating ourselves as free, wild beings. The project of transforming the world into a realm of sensual joy and pleasure by destroying the civilization that has stolen the fullness of life from us.



# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion

included in this grouping we would find some forms of animism and Jainism. Many roads, many mountains.

Chernyi asserts that "Buddhism and Taoism diverge from what **most people** call religion in fundamental ways." Surely he means "most western people"? Buddhism, Taoism, Jainism all lack a supreme god yet hundreds of millions of people follow these paths, these religions. Hindus, who have a long history of disputing with Buddhists and Jains, never suggest that these two paths do not constitute religions. I think Chernyi's view (and that of the dictionaries he quotes) narrow and ethnocentric.

But the issue, the point, of the discussion centers on whether religion and anarchy can consistently co-exist as a coherent philosophy. Even if I come to agree that dualism forms the core of religion (and that, therefore, Vedanta, Yogacara Buddhism, Zen, Taoism, Jainism, Animism and some neo-paganisms are not religious) how does that argue against or contradict or make difficult the adoption of an anarchist political/social philosophy? What **interferes** or obstructs the connecting of these two points of view?

To look at it from another angle, I don't see any connection between monism and anarchy. Nor do I see any connection between atheism and anarchism. Most atheists are not anarchists. Atheists have been responsible for truly hideous crimes (e.g. Stalin, Mao, Pol Pot), yet we don't find in anarchist journals attacks on atheism per se. Nor do I suggest that that should happen. I only point out that for every brick thrown against religion per se, one could just as easily take aim at atheism.

The issue is not religion vs. atheism but coercion vs. voluntary relations. If someone believes in the efficacy of voluntary relations and excludes the use of coercion, that makes them ipso facto an anarchist. **Why** they come to that conclusion seems secondary to me. Perhaps

they arrive at that conclusion because Jesus said to turn the other cheek, or because it's against the Buddhist precepts, or because it constitutes the gateway to higher consciousness, or it makes love possible, or because it makes the state collapse...**whatever**.

Anarchism names a very wide family that includes many divergent trends. I think of anarchism as resting on the axiom of voluntary relationship, eschewing force and coercion. Everything else follows from this fundamental point. Different people arrive at this fundamental by different routes but they all live within the house of anarchy.

Best wishes,  
Tundra Wind  
POB 429  
Monte Rio, CA. 95462

## Lev responds

I appreciate receiving your thoughts on religion and anarchy. Though, the repetitions involved in some of your arguments leave me wondering whether they have resulted from an incomplete reading of the preceding discussion on your part, or if they are due to some failure of my own to communicate my thoughts clearly in my earlier contributions to the discussion. Let me try once again.

As I mentioned in the introduction to the whole series of articles on anarchy & religion, I'd like to move on **beyond** the traditional atheism vs. religion debate. In this dead-end debate each side is usually more concerned with damaging the other (while covering up its own evasions and inauthenticities) than it is with any genuine communication or discovery. To this end I proposed the alternative of criticizing all the types of frozen, reified, and ideological thinking both atheism and religion tend to share.

Instead, I'd like to focus on liberating our impulses to live fully and freely. And this entails using theory more flexibly and creatively in order to formulate descriptions of our experiences which can both more accurately indicate what we really live, and help us understand how we can heal our alienation, reclaiming control over those parts of our lives which have been stolen from us or repressed.

Such a project, I suggested, would mean avoiding **any** type of beliefs in absolute concepts—whether "atheist" or "religious." And such a critical, liberatory type

of thinking can hardly be termed "religious," given the prevalent meanings of the concept—and the rather inglorious history of its traditions—without causing massive confusions. While neither is it an **atheism** (any sort of positive, "non-religious" belief in some other sort of first principles). However, as I pointed out there is another sense of the adjective "atheist," which signifies a necessary (though not sufficient in itself) critical perspective—an absence of religious belief—in which technically, any liberatory effort such as I have advocated must find its home.

Given the focus of the debate on anarchy and religion (and not atheism), most of my arguments were naturally oriented towards investigating the nature of religion. If the focus of debate had been anarchy and atheism, my approach wouldn't have been all that different, except that I wouldn't criticize the generic atheist perspective per se (due to the fact that it includes a purely negative stance towards religion), any more than one would be able to criticize, say all anti-capitalist perspectives on the same terms as one would criticize capitalist or specifically Marxist ones. To miss this point is to confuse apples with oranges.

In my first letter to Jay Kinney on this subject (printed in *Anarchy* #15), I stated that: "If anarchists are to be effective at subverting **all** forms of ideological thinking...we must become more sensitive to all the complexities involved. We must learn to think dialectically—i.e. we must learn once and for all that any concept is just that, a concept, an abstraction and nothing more nor less. Any concept can be reified.

To avoid this reification we must look at both the valuable uses of any concept, and its limitations, its tendencies to lead us off into wrong directions. Some concepts will be found to have largely intact, usable, non-alienating meanings...Other concepts will be found to be largely or wholly given over to alienating meanings and uses. I would include 'religion' and 'spirituality' among [the second group]."

I explicitly said here and elsewhere that I was speaking of the **concepts** of "religion" and "spirituality," and not so-called "religious" or "spiritual" **experiences** (which I, for one, certainly can't distinguish in any fundamental way from any other experiences, anyway). Thus, contrary to the implication of your statement, I did not (and never will) assert that any "experience" **per se** is ontologically dualistic. This is simply because at bottom, experiences themselves **don't** require any metaphysics or

theologies to exist. Metaphysical and religious speculations do not underpin experience. Metaphysical and religious speculations are merely attempts (obviously erroneous, I would say) at interpreting our underlying stream of direct and immediate experience.

Unfortunately, the widespread and unrecognized confusion of these two levels—that of human experience and that of conceptual speculation—has led to innumerable errors in understanding just what it is that we are really speaking of when we discuss religion and spiritualism. But once it is made clear what is at stake here, I would hope that we can both agree that our own immediate and pre-conceptual experiences are most certainly more fundamental and real than any conceptual speculations about them ever could be.

Keep in mind that for the sake of clarity I'm speaking of the limiting case here. Of course, in actual fact, our experiences are usually full of conceptual interpretations operating at various levels of explicit and implicit formulation. But when it comes down to fundamentals, concepts are a part of our experience, and not vice versa—our experiences are not just an aspect of some sort of play of concepts. We use them; they don't operate through us, except in a metaphorical sense. Thus, religion and spiritualism (or atheism, for that matter)—as **conceptual systems** formulated in various ways—are the real point at issue for me. The experiences that they attempt to "explain" are not.

What this all implies for your further assertions is that the meaning and use of "religious" and "spiritual" categories can be investigated and evaluated just like any other theoretical conceptions can. The range of meanings attributable to a word/concept like "religion" are largely historically, socially and linguistically determined. Though, as is plainly visible to anyone who has been paying attention to the whole discussion on religion and anarchy, there is certainly no **one, official, correct definition** of anything. Definitions are always going to be contested by those who want to use words for differing purposes.

I have merely suggested earlier in the discussion that it usually makes most sense, when speaking within a given social/historical context, to use the most commonly accepted definitions in that context. And this is the definition of religion I have used in the discussion. Of course, it is possible to use any of a number of other possible definitions of religion. But in the context of my critique of what religion is—given a certain commonly accepted definition—it is primarily and

**Continued on next page**



# DISCUSSION: Anarchy & religion

## Lev responds

continued

obviously an evasion on your part to then go on to argue that another definition (which meets another, less relevant set of criteria) should be used. My criticism is of religion as it is usually conceived within the social context of most of the readers of *Anarchy*—a dualistic conception in which the world is split into two ontologically separate realms, whether these be dualities of Sacred and Profane, or of Spirit and Matter.

This said, I also have already earlier (in my "Third letter to Jay Kinney" in *Anarchy* #15) argued in some detail that there is all too often a difference between what certain people might claim a system of thought to be (e.g. Margot Adler), and what it really is. There are many, many religious (as well as non-religious, philosophical) systems which claim on their face to be "monistic." However, there are exceedingly few which can sustain much of a claim when actually subjected to a close critical examination. The contradictions are simply too numerous and too obvious in most cases.

For lack of space, and because I've already dealt with basically the same arguments earlier (when they were made by Jay Kinney), I unfortunately cannot answer each of your points at length as I'd like to (for example, regarding your restatement of the confusions over whether Buddhism or Jainism are religions—again see my "Third letter to Jay Kinney;" and regarding your suggestion that you see no "connection between atheism and anarchism"—please see both my articles on anarchy & religion in *Anarchy* #15, "The Sacred & the Profane," and "Between Concept and Reality").

Possibly your restatement of the "fundamental" issue at the end of your letter reveals our disagreement more than anything else you say. I just cannot agree with you that the real "issue is...coercion vs. voluntary relations." This is a much too superficial formulation which totally ignores the extent to which authority, commodity exchange and ideology have insinuated themselves into every aspect of our being—from the most overt to the most intimate details of our lives. Our profound alienation is an exceedingly complex and tangled web within which we not only have every limb caught, but also most of our desires and thoughts. It would be nice if the answer were so utterly simple as merely making a distinction and an abstract choice between "coercion" and "cooperation." But it is most certainly not.

## What about animism?

Dear Lev,

...I've been following your discussion of religion with great interest. Your point that the division of the world into "sacred" and "profane" realms leads to a devaluation of everyday life and the hierarchical elevation of the spiritual domain is well taken. And yet I wonder, is this always or necessarily the case? What about the so-called "animist" religions—the spirituality of nature-based tribal peoples—where the spiritual tends to be not an "elevated" realm apart from daily life but a living, integral aspect of this world? If the "sacred" has any meaning at all in the context of primitive religion, it is that the world, nature, our bodies, are all sacred, all part of the symbolic interplay of life.

You say you value the "core experience" of religion but reject the



religious interpretations that are placed upon these experiences. But are the experience and its conceptualization necessarily divisible? The Hopis, for instance, experienced rocks, trees, deer, bears, and other elements of nature as sentient beings, each with its own particular "spirit." We experience rocks as dead matter, trees as living "things," deer and bears as "animals," not beings with whom we can communicate as we do with other humans. If a "dialectical phenomenologist" were able to convince the Hopis of the superiority of his interpretation of nature over theirs, what then would become of the experience itself? Wouldn't these rocks, trees, deer, and bears be experienced differently hereafter—experienced as we experience them, namely as dead matter, "lower" creatures, mere objects? Indeed, wouldn't the entire world become "disenchanted," so to speak, emptied of everything but humanity and its tortured subjectivity? Even if the now-rational Hopis were to embrace the "enlightened" scientific insight that plants and animals aren't mere objects after all, but integral parts of a natural, mutually-sustaining ecosystem, wouldn't this still essentially conceptual insight still remain qualitatively inferior to the experience of ecological holism that the Hopis lived and breathed every day?

The religious experience is—at least in its earliest manifestations—fundamentally a "letting go," a "surrender" to the experience itself, a suspension of disbelief. (At the same time, it is, as Joseph Campbell has pointed out, something of a game, a masquerade, an acting "as if" the phenomenon were real, not a simplistic, literal-minded awe in the face of the "unknown"). Dialectical phenomenology, on the other hand, is analysis, argumentation, systematic doubt. Are these two species of mental/emotional activity reconcilable, or does the latter cancel out the former? I don't know the answer to this question. But at the very least, we should recognize that intellectualization is still a sublimation, a **substitute** for direct experience (albeit a necessary one at a time when all experience is

distorted, deformed, mediated by hierarchical power). Jacques Camatte has stated the nature of this problem well in *The Wandering of Humanity*: "The refusal to be trapped by a theory is not a rejection of all theoretical reflection. It is just the opposite. But this refusal does postulate that the theoretical act is insufficient. Theory can call for the reconciliation of senses and brain, but it remains within the boundaries of this separation. What must be affirmed is the whole of life, the entirety of the manifestations, the whole unified being" (p.41).

Since the only cultures to affirm the whole of life have been those, like the Hopi, whose orientation to the world was fundamentally **spiritual**, I'm not willing to dismiss the religious phenomenon as simply a manifestation of repression and delusion.

I welcome your comments on these admittedly sketchy remarks.

Love,

B.B., Mishima, Japan

## Lev replies

It was nice to hear from you again. I'm glad that you've found the discussion on religion in these pages to be of interest. I'm also pleased that you can see my "point that the division of the world into 'sacred' and 'profane' realms leads to a devaluation of everyday life and the hierarchical elevation of the spiritual domain." However, I'm not at all sure where you think this problem so quickly disappears to when you turn the discussion to "nature-based tribal peoples"? Can't you see that, though this reification of experience may be less developed (and thus possibly less immediately pernicious) in the lives of tribal peoples, it still remains a reification of experience nonetheless—with all the consequences such reification must entail?

What about "the so-called 'animist' religions"? What makes you think that the fetishized spirits of the religious animists are any more an "integral aspect of this world" than are their contemporary progeny, all the ubiquitous modern fetishizations like commodities, ideologies, moralities and religions? I see no cut-and-dried distinctions that can be made between these two developments of the same, basically alienated human impulse towards the fetishization and reification of experience. In primitive religion that which is sacred is that which is fetishized and reified, just as in modern religion. The

sacred always implies a degradation of our lived experience before the alter of symbolic fixations—how could it be otherwise?

Possibly, the difference in our perspectives here may lie in that I see the reconciliation of our present social alienation from our selves, from each other, and from "Nature" as being located on an **experiential** level, while you seem to hold out some hope that a "symbolic" reconciliation may be sufficient. Personally, I'm not the least impressed that "in the context of primitive religion...the world, nature, our bodies, are all sacred, all part of the symbolic interplay of life." I'm simply not satisfied with this type of intellectualized ("primitive" or not) "solution" to a much deeper problem. I can only view a purely symbolic reconciliation as a counterfeit substitution for an actually-lived reconciliation. A symbolic reconciliation can only be a symptom of an actually-lived alienation, since an actual reconciliation would eliminate any felt need for symbolic (and essentially empty) substitutes. Conceptual systems which fetishize an abstract "holism" are symptomatic of a problem that they cannot ever understand. They are futile attempts at solving purely in the imagination, a problem which is global (which permeates every aspect of our experience) and doesn't merely lie in some defect of our present imaginations.

This difference in our perspectives becomes even more obvious when you seem to think you can speak for all of "us" when you say that "We experience rocks as dead matter..." (etc.). I beg to be excluded from such descriptions which have absolutely nothing to do with my own experiences at all! This is exactly the sort of stuff I want no part of whatsoever. Why would a "dialectical phenomenologist" want to convince anybody that anything was "dead matter, 'lower' creatures, mere objects"? Your reasoning here seems to rely on such a fixation on the symbolic, that you can't even conceive that some of us experience the world in neither the terms of spiritualism, nor the categories of science or materialism. Certainly, distinguishing between experience and the conceptual interpretations we make of our experience is problematic, but there is just as certainly no reason to consider it impossible. However, the assumptions you make in the example you use are so misleading in so many ways that it would take more space than is available to make sense of them all. What has tortured subjectivity necessarily got to do with "disenchantment"? Are Hopis currently non-rational? Etc.

Your seemingly self-contradictory description of "the religious experience" as "a 'surrender' to the experience itself, a suspension of disbelief" is very telling in a number of ways. In the first place, if ani-



## Columns

News to me! by Toni Otter

## Calf Mutilated, Christians Suspected

There have recently been two or three "calf mutilations" in Boone County, Missouri. "Satanists" are allegedly responsible, according to Sheriff Ted Boehm, who wants still more tax dollars to hire a "cult investigator." By "cult" he does not refer to the legal, Christian cults pushing god, guns, guts and guilt. Hard evidence against Satanists is non-existent, but that didn't keep the *Columbia Missourian*, in stiff competition with the *National Enquirer*, from piously editorializing on its great concern about followers of the devil. What's next, complete press coverage of cops dragging pagans to a public bonfire?

Satanism, in general, is simply one side of the Christian coin. Rebelling against the twisted demands of religions requiring obedience to god, a tiny number of dissidents may conjure up their own religion demanding loyalty to Satan or some other set of beliefs. If one is concerned about Satanism, one would logically be outraged over Christianity. A percentage of Christians have a track record of inquisitions and genocide (e.g. against American Indians) to which Satanists will never come close. And TV evangelists con no one in the name of Lucifer.

Cruelty to animals and people is, sadly, epidemic, but hiring more cops is not the solution. Since Christians vastly outnumber Satanists, I'll bet that examination of statistics relating to abuse will finger far more of the former than the latter. But have you

seen headlines screaming, "Calf Mutilated, Christians Suspected?" Are cops clamoring for more bucks to hunt down and lock up Christians?

Have you heard sheriff, press or Geraldo Rivera protesting the alleged crimes of Christians? Why not? Because they have a vested interest in blaming Satanists (or Jews, or witches) so that advertisers or taxpayers will fund their disinformation and protection rackets. Serious criticism of Christians, police, or other powerful interests can result in arrest or financial ruin. Much easier and more profitable to scapegoat someone for social problems rather than reveal your own lucrative, larger role in creating them. Attention to Satanism arouses popular concern over the misery we daily experience, which has far more to do with a press controlled by money, and taxes extorted to finance police, than anything remotely connected to an obscure religious group. This concern is then safely deflected away from Religion, the (Police) State, the Rich, or the mainstream media, which are greater obstacles to human or animal liberation than Satanism alone could ever be. As certain local authorities and journalists parade themselves in self-righteous idiocy over Satanism, they seek desperately (consciously or not) to conceal their own role in supporting power relationships vital to business as usual, which is predicated on legalized theft and the everyday mutilation of human (and animal) life.

Satanists are relatively powerless and I therefore do not fear them. Fears about my safety or freedom are more justifiably directed toward the entrenched power of Church, State, and any press subservient to either.

mist religion was indeed holistic on any more than a symbolic level, I can't see that there could even be anything which it would make sense to single out as a "religious experience." Wouldn't all of life be religious, with each act, each thought participating as fully as any other? Doesn't the fact that you think certain experiences can be singled out as being more "religious" than others suggest precisely that you are confining your use of the concept to those experiences in which religious categories (the sacred, etc.) are employed for interpretation? Secondly, what do you mean by "surrender to the experience itself"? I am assuming that you don't have in mind merely to posit the tautology that "religious experience is a surrender to religious experience." But if it is a "surrender" to other experiences themselves, I do not understand why you think such a "surrender" could be (in any usual sense of the word) religious? Rather, it would constitute exactly what I've been calling for, a suspension of belief in conceptual interpretations in favor of an acceptance of the experiences themselves. And finally, of what value is a generic "suspension of disbelief"? Does this mean something other than a capitulation to (I'll assume you mean specifically religious) belief? And would it then really make any difference to which belief one was ready to capitulate? Do you see some compelling reason why anyone would necessarily choose animistic beliefs over, say, Chris-

tian or Shintoist ones? (There is, of course, another possibility that you may have in mind here, "a suspension of disbelief" in experience. However, once again, this would seem to constitute a call for the atheist acceptance of experience without imposed religious interpretations.)

Your further comparison of "religious experience" with "dialectical phenomenology" confuses two different types of things. You might just as well compare religious doctrine with atheist experience to see whether "these two species of mental/emotional activity are reconcilable." The quote from Cammatte, however, I appreciate as a critique which seems to say almost exactly what I've been saying. Your unself-conscious use of this quote is quite ironic.

Personally, I "believe" in nothing because I value my lived experiences more than I value any categories of interpretation. I refuse to invest any concepts—whether they be religious, scientific, revolutionary, or anarchistic—with any sort of absolute belief. I'll use them to attempt descriptions of my experience, but no one will ever be likely to convince me that they could fully and accurately describe anything. For me, a suspension of all belief in the symbolic is an absolutely necessary precondition for any genuine reconciliation of our social alienation. Our lives are not just symbols, and symbolic reconciliation is not enough.



## The Nihilist's Dictionary

by John Zerzan

**Nice-ism** ('nis-iz-em) n. Tendency, more or less socially codified, to approach reality in terms of whether others behave cordially; tyranny of decorum which disallows thinking or acting for oneself; mode of interaction based upon the above absence of critical judgement or autonomy.

All of us prefer what is friendly, sincere, pleasant--nice. But in an immersed world of pervasive and real crisis, which should be causing all of us to radically reassess everything, the nice can be the false.

The face of domination is often a smiling one, a cultured one. Auschwitz comes to mind, with its managers who enjoyed their Goethe and Mozart. Similarly, it was not evil-looking monsters who built the A-bomb but nice liberal intellectuals. Ditto regarding those who are computerizing life and those who in other ways are the mainstays of participation in this rotting order, just as it is the nice businessperson (self-managed or otherwise) who is the backbone of a cruel work-and-shop existence by concealing its real horrors.

Cases of niceism include the peaceniks, whose ethic of niceness puts them--again and again and again--in stupid, ritualized, no-win situations, those Earth First!ers who refuse to confront the thoroughly reprehensible ideology at the top of "their" organization, and Fifth Estate, whose highly important contributions now seem to be in danger of an eclipse by liberalism. All the single-issue causes, from ecogism to feminism, and all the militancy in their service, are only ways of evading the necessity of a qualitative break with more than just the excesses of the system.

The nice as the perfect enemy of tactical or analytical thinking: Be agreeable; don't let having radical ideas make waves in your personal behavior. Accept the pre-packaged methods and limits of the daily strangulation. Ingrained deference, the conditioned response to "play by the rules"--authority's rules--this is the real Fifth Column, the one within us.

In the context of a mauled social life that demands the drastic as a minimum response toward health, niceism becomes more and more infantile, conformist and dangerous. It cannot grant joy, only more routine and isolation. The pleasure of authenticity exists only against the grain of society. Niceism keeps us all in our places, confusedly reproducing all that we supposedly abhor. Let's stop being nice to this nightmare and all who would keep us in it.

# Letters

We would like to encourage readers to write us in order to continue this dialogue both with those who are sympathetic and those who are critical of anarchist theory and practice. All letters to *Anarchy* will be printed with the author's initials only, unless it is specifically stated that her/his full name may be used, or that s/he wishes to remain anonymous, or the name already appears in the paper—as in the case of an author of an article in *Anarchy*.

We will edit letters that are redundant, overly long, unreadable or excessively boring. Please limit length to two single-spaced, typewritten pages. Address your letters to *Anarchy*, c/o C.A.L., POB 1446, Columbia, MO. 65205-1446. We look forward to hearing from you!

## Shameful acts

This was a letter to the editor of an establishment paper. I was impressed as the establishment so seldom allows light to be shed on things that truly matter.

Such is the shame in being one of the surviving stock of white men to this day and age. A look at history will show again and again our shameful acts that bring us to this age of meaningless pursuits

while the things that truly have meaning are ignored and even hushed by those in power.

Look at the shameful atrocity we unleashed in Japan. It has to do with our Roman white man's god-death cult. To be rewarded you must first die. This fascination with death is destroying the world with stupidity after stupidity being heaped up. Towns that are poisoned and uninhabitable, genetically engineered diseases like AIDS

loose in the population, nuke plants built on fault lines, nuke arms buildups, the FBI collecting info. on everybody for no reason but the doing of it. And on and on. Look at what we did to the black man. Look at what we did to the Indian. It didn't matter. They were heathens who didn't worship the one true god—reason enough to murder them. To commit genocide on whole nations of American Indians.

The people who said "Don't judge your neighbor until you've walked a mile in his moccasins." Didn't Christ say something like that? Judge not lest ye be judged—there's another Indian saying—we have not inherited the earth from our forefathers but are holding it in trust for our grandchildren. White man, what are our grand kids going to inherit? Do you want to personally live in a radioactive hulk with the atmosphere blown into space, with poisoned ground-

water to drink and cockroaches for wildlife? Neither do my grandchildren.

Before the white man sailed the ocean blue in 1492 we were surrendering up our possessions, our relatives, our lives, and our beliefs to a church supposedly serving a loving god. The Roman Catholic Church committed genocide on large portions of the European populace to gather land and treasures for itself and to eradicate a beautiful religion that worshiped life & held the earth to be sacred. The Christmas tree you cut down in the winter symbolized the green that would again cover the earth, now that the days were again growing longer.

In the spring a worship of life was again held—one that has also been perverted by the church into yet another preoccupation with death. The egg you dye at Easter symbolized all life at its beginning. Spring is very much a time of new

life. The cute little bunny rabbits you see at Easter are well known for producing many offspring, a celebrated event when the life expectancy of any individual was short and only thru the next generation was the survival of the tribe, nation; species guaranteed.

The Old Testament of the believers in the Roman god, the white man's god, hold a man in reverence that today would make Jack the Ripper or Charlie Manson look like a pussy cat. This man hid in the bushes one day with the power of the lord surging in him and jumped out when one of the neighboring tribe's people walked past and either strangled or slashed his or her throat with the sharpened teeth on a donkey's jawbone! This monster murdered 40 people that day whose only crime was to live on the land first when the Israelites moved in. Our children are taught in Sunday School to revere this mass murderer who was called Sampson.

We have a lot of murdering crazies now with the lord speaking in their ears. But when they're caught they're punished and not rewarded. Hitler taught the Germans that the thousand year reign was now. He could have succeeded if the scientists experimenting with heavy water had stayed in Germany. Then the survivors would hold Adolf in reverence and praise him and enquire anxiously of the great man's health. Instead we had a nuclear explosion in the New Mexico desert named after the Christian trinity.

It is past time for us all to look in our hearts for the strength to ask the mother for forgiveness for our shames of the present & the past & the future before we don't have a future! Let's please for the sake of life & love begin to try very hard to care about what is genuinely important. What kind of car you drive isn't going to matter next year, or maybe in 10 years, but the quality of air, water, food you ingest will.

S., Resaca, GA.

## Mother Earth

Friends,

I finally got around to writing, or should I say finally gained the energy to do so. School has a habit of draining my life forces. I have been meaning to write and subscribe since I read the Fall/Winter '86 issue during the summer of '87, but I never did, until now. I find your journal to be of excellent quality. It gives me the feeling I might have had in reading *Mother Earth*, nearly a century ago....

Don't question authority.  
Destroy authority, so there  
is nothing left to  
question.  
B.F., Chico, CA.

## A spiritual approach

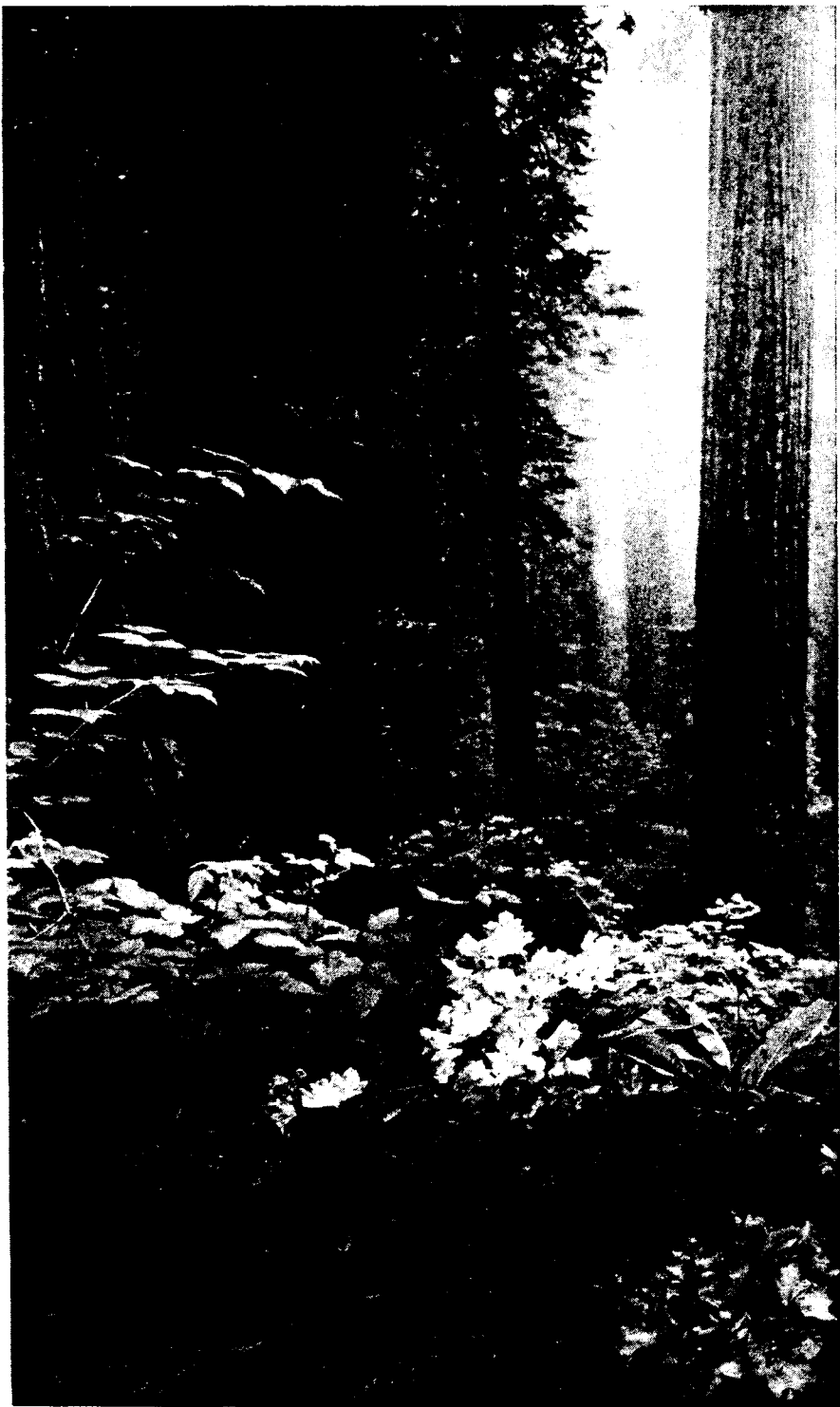
Dear C.A.L.,

I received a sample copy of your magazine and was very impressed by it. Could you please send me a year's subscription and also a copy of *Beyond character and morality*. Thanks.

Oppression cannot be conquered by the will of force but by the force of will alone.

I believe that in order to en-

# WHAT HAVE WE LOST?



Magnificent shopping malls engulfed by open fields.

Parking lots sacrificed to wildlife habitat.

Progress and Technology butchered on the alter of nature and wilderness.

Skyscrapers razed to build communal lodges.

Mighty dams subdued and tamed by free-flowing rivers.

Mass production and assembly lines subsumed by skilled crafting.

Supermarkets and chemical agriculture devastated by abundant food gathered free by all.

Organized violence of global warfare overpowered by ritualized conflict games.

Computer information networks subverted by campfire storytelling.

Stock Exchanges and profit undermined by gift-giving.

Forests encroaching on the deserts.

Religion devoured by spontaneous festivals and living myth.

An efficient labor force left to follow their own desires.

The city lights are dark; the stars blaze.

The clocks have all been smashed.

There is dancing in the land.

Music in the air.

The dreamers are awake.

There will be no going back.

. . . but who wants to?





## Letters

sure the option of freedom for others that one must become an example of freedom him/herself. Not passivity, but possibility. A spiritual approach to anarchism. Thanks.

Responsibility/Liberty,  
E.F., Mt. Pleasant, UT.

### Bible belt

Dear C.A.L.,

Please send me a copy of **As We See It!** I spent a year and a half in the Springfield Medical Center for federal prisoners (*Editor's note: Springfield, Missouri*). I didn't realize that we have free thinking people in the Bible belt. Very encouraging. I will be held hostage for 1-1/2 years until my release for a coke bust (7 years total).

C.R., Otisville, NY.

### Impressed

Dear Lev,

I am impressed with your newspaper. It was filled with interesting news both local and worldwide, and it proffered both radical arguments and conservative opposition (did not choose to "censor" conservative views). In fact, I went so far as to cite it as a source for a recent essay on anarchy I wrote for my underground publication.... Enclosed is \$3.00 for the next six issues, which I hope will provide just as much insight (more essays, though!). By the way, you wouldn't happen to be able to give me information on **other** anarchist groups and/or publications which I could peruse and investigate? I'd like to contact as many as possible to broaden my knowledge of the current state of activism in the world. Thanks for reading!

T.B., Arl. Hts., IL.

### Unwitting pawn

Fellow-workers,

Thanks for the sample. OK, I'll subscribe because you do a good job of supplying good (if one-sided) material for **half** my needs as a lifelong anarchist, much as I hate to help pay for that noble glamorpuss mugshot of a phoney like Ortega.

Like most of the post-sixties anarchists (including, too often, Chomsky himself), you tend to make yourselves an unwitting pawn of the lib-lefty statists, by pulling your punches on one side and throwing them on the other.

You seem too dimly aware that we are a third force, not just a shriller "part of the left" (whatever the liberals and communists are the moderate and extreme part of, I want no part of), and that the left and right statists are only opposite sides of the same coin.

This is a fight on two fronts. Every blow we strike must be unmistakably a one-two punch both ways, or else we have nothing to add to all those parlor radical chic causes except our habitual ability to scream more. Liberalism plus machoism doth not a revolutionary make.

I know of no better illustration than the typical pinko argument that U.S. shouldn't butt in to... (Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, you name it)...because we think it

has such a lovely government, which clearly implies Reagan's attitude that it **should** be invaded if one doesn't think it has such a lovely government. Statism for the other side is reverse Reaganism.

An all-the-way anarchist wouldn't just ask rhetorically why the U.S. government is any more "legitimate" than Ortega's, but also turn around to ask why his is any more legit than ours. Like Stalin and Robespierre, he's the epitome of statism—a man who didn't gain fame in the revolution and needed the state and politics well established so he could maneuver himself into a post facto (step-) "father of his country." And of revolution-by-conscription!

Anarchists and revolutions empty the Bastilles. Robespierres, Stalins and Ortegas fill them.

Once upon a time we used to call a guy a dictator if he needed to keep 10,000 opponents in jail (a higher percentage than now in prison in South Africa) in order to stay in power. Anarchists believe with Tom Paine that freedom is a natural right, not a government's gracious privilege for its friends. It's "halfway anarchism" if we soft-pedal this.

Sure, "Reagan is a murderer" as you point up. Amen. But isn't it a strange coincidence that anarchists concentrate their name-calling so much on Republican villains whom the good old Demolibs want to take over the power from, and so seldom on the fact that by far the biggest murderers and the regimes with the most repression at home were the Dems like the southern politicians who started

the Civil War, Wilson and Roosevelt's two world wars, Truman's Korea, Johnson's Vietnam, Kennedy's Bay of Pigs. Not conservatives at all, except in your Dixie.

Let's not do the dirty work of their followers. As a Black Panther leader once said, "Let the liberals fight the conservatives; we've got our own (battles)."

If we find ourselves with them in some current fight, all we've got to say is: "We may be only a small part of you, but your ideas are only a small part of ours." And don't let them forget it.

M.M., New York City, NY.

P.S. You glossed over one of the main lessons in Chomsky's exposés of the ratty character of U.S. imperialism: at the time he was discussing, it was the holier-than-thou liberals who were in power, just as

ratty as the "in" today. That was no Ollie North he was quoting. It was George F. Kennan!

As another instance, you made a damn good point in your little comic strip deriding the baloney that war comes from individual aggressiveness (as if it's the people's fault). But why the bearded stereotype that this baloney comes from a priest when it's a favorite ploy of liberals with their "people-to-people" solutions. As Cohn-Bendit pointed out, liberalism has replaced the church as the main "opium of the people." The divine right of taxation has replaced the divine right of kings.

And on that score, I hear plenty of oh-so-macho shouts of "Smash the State!" but when it comes to something close by, I don't see anarchists showing they really mean it, by what should be our number one demand right now: **ABOLISH PAYROLL TAXES**, which have become (though you'd never guess it to hear the old left) a bigger source of exploitation, in dollars and cents than even capitalist profits!

Ah, but we'd have to stand on our own and defy the libs, who'd accuse us of aiding the Republicans! Our answer is it's they who are giving the conservatives aid—and votes—by showing the workers that the Big-Government left is just another enemy of their class interests. (And to ask for more taxes "to pay for services," I might add—one could just as well urge higher rents so the landlord can provide the same!—is to protect the military budget.) They'd swallow their tongues before admitting, for instance, that deregulation brought air travel within reach of the poor, for whom they want a welfare-warfare state.

Ortega and taxes are just two of a thousand examples. When anarchists were proud and stood on their own feet, they were never afraid to distinguish themselves from other radicals. Now we're just a bunch of nobodies and yes-bodies taking our cues from every trendy movement, and teaching them little or nothing. The most advanced idea on earth is tongue-tied!

### Lev Responds

It's hard to disagree with much of what you say, except in the emphasis you give to your concerns. For example, your overwhelming desire to trash liberals seems to have blinded you to the fact that the article you criticize (concerning the "legitimacy" of the U.S. versus the Nicaraguan governments—see "Legitimate government?" on page 4 of *Anarchy* #14) never made any of the arguments you so trenchantly take on.

Nowhere did the article say or imply that Ortega was **not** a phoney, though it wasn't the purpose of the article to address this issue either. Nowhere were "punches pulled," unless you think that every article in the anarchist press **must always** emphasize the separate but equal hypocrisy of the right and the left (a rather awkward demand!), rather than dealing with one side at a time depending upon the situation. Nowhere do we claim to be a part of "the left," nor do we care

Continued on next page

## trust your desires.



"They have to be constantly watched," said the employers' newspaper, *Textile World*, "or they will go from bad to worse in order to make more time for play."

# Letters

## Lev responds *continued*

to defend it per se. Nowhere did we say or imply that the Nicaraguan government is in any way legitimate, nor did we say or imply that there are **any** criteria which, if fulfilled, could excuse an invasion of any country in the world. And while I would definitely question your comment, "Anarchists believe with Tom Paine that freedom is a natural right" (since in actuality, **some** anarchists do, some don't), neither did we say nor imply that it is a **privilege** given by governments.

Sure, I find it revealing that **some** "anarchists" concentrate their name-calling on Republican villains... but I also find it quite

odd that you pay so little attention to the contexts involved in our publication of the article in question. The article quite obviously had a very narrow purpose—to point out the hypocrisy of a particular columnist (who happens to be "right-wing", but whose arguments are also made by many "liberals," too). We agree with him half-way. As he argues, the Nicaraguan government is **not** "legitimate." This we don't question. Rather, we question the **criteria** he uses to evaluate legitimacy. We question his **motive** for using this criteria, his cold-warriorism. And, by implication, we question the purpose to which his words are harnessed. The man obviously wants to justify the ongoing U.S. invasion of Nicaragua by a Republican-con-

trolled regime (currently using primarily mercenary troops for direct combat). You seem somewhat oblivious to all these facts.

We have criticized liberal/leftist hypocrisies elsewhere, and we will continue to criticize them in their appropriate contexts. It just makes no sense to rigidly demand that equal time be given to liberals in **every** article where conservatives are being criticized (especially when they generally share the same idiocies). Would you demand that we also give equal time to the criticism of communism whenever we publish articles denouncing fascist movements, etc.? Please be a little more realistic. Sure, it would be nice to make every article a total critique which covered everything. Unfortunately, it's just

a slight impossibility.

As for your postscript, the suggestion that abolishing payroll taxes should be "our number one demand right now" seems somewhat strange to me. Even if payroll taxes are a "bigger source" of exploitation in terms of money extorted than other "sources" of this type, you seem to be barking up the wrong tree if you think that the quantification of our exploitation should determine our priorities. Rather, it is an evaluation of the total picture, an assessment of the overall **qualitative** context of our alienation and exploitation, which will provide us with the best understanding of where we can most effectively intervene as anarchists.

## Authority drugs

Dear **Anarchy** friends,

Howdy, I just got a bundle of #14... and the issue looks great. Especially nice were the graphics this time. The front, back, and the inside back cover are really nice. The ideas and images are both good which sometimes is rare. Good info inside too. "Vagaries..." is excellent but at this time I am going to comment upon the letters section or rather upon desire.

An anonymous person wrote in a letter and asked "What if it's someone's desire to send TV evangelists money?" To me, it seems we must look closer at why it is their desire to send them money. Obviously, if someone sends money into religion or TV, or worse the mixture of the two, then something is wrong. For someone to rely on someone else (who they know through TV or other authority positions) for satisfaction of their desires only goes to show that they have been brought up in a very sterile anti-expression and anti-self-controlled society that wants people or profits from people's passive existence and inability to rely upon themselves for needs and wants. This is just plain scary. If people look to these con-artists for their desire fulfillment they have obviously been victims of the evils in our present world: TV, religion, patriarchy, consumption, school, work, government, etc. And now they are unable to be in control of their own lives, free & responsible for their own actions. They have allowed the above mentioned ills to control them, be responsible for them, and carry out their desires for them. Thus they fulfill their desires through perverse and careless and meaningless ways. These ills have comforted the "lost souls" from reality rather than showing them that they could find real comfort in themselves, express themselves, and achieve their desires. People on authority drugs must learn to be their own authority and no one else's. Once people learn to kill external authority and become themselves then they may find out that their real desire is to get naked and play hopscotch in tall grass.

Desire is wanting to be in control of one's actions and oneself. Desire is harmony, love (of oneself, and the potential love to give kinetic love to another), and desire is anarchy. My desire is to be free, in-control of myself and the situations that I am in, and to be responsible for me. I desire to be me and to be accepted for being me and to accept others for what they are. Be you.

Masturbate, smash that icky ole state, no one for president in '88.

anarchy for all,  
bob EE swa EAT  
c/o NO5  
POB 4570  
St. Louis, MO. 63108

## Internment camps?

Lev,  
I won't be nothing but cordial w/you because you have given me your support for A LONG TIME. You and the Columbia Anarchist League have continually aided me beginning in August 1984 and I thank you. More or less, I am



## THE ROOTS OF OUR MISERY:

The Latin word for labor means "suffering."

From "Tripalium", an ancient instrument of torture, comes the word "travail."

The Greek word for work, "ponos", has the same root as the Latin "poena", which means suffering.

## WORK: THE REAL CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.





writing to inform you and CAL of some data/info I have been piecing together for 3 years. The data is capable of being substantiated; my greater theory (investigation...) continues to flourish....

In February 1985 Senator Edward Kennedy (Mass.) and an unnamed U.S. Representative presented to the U.S. Senate a bill that narratively gives structure to the newly evoked law that "In a period of 'civil disobedience', all law enforcement agencies have the authority to arrest and detain, all persons or person, who knowingly participate, or contribute, to civil disobedience, mass demonstrations and protests, or riots, and place them into internment camps for an indefinite period."

Months prior to the passing of this law, I began anticipating a "crack in the U.S. 'economic' sphere" that could eventually create a "hole" that could cause many millions of U.S. working people to "fall in" due to "mass job losses" through the U.S.

At this conjecture of my analysis of the National Socialist precepts which have always been w/in the scope of the GOP administration's domestic and international plans, I had no means available to substantiate the very real possibilities of "mass job losses" occurring. Common sense (more than anything else at the time) had me question this new law. I reacted emphatically. Why would the U.S. Senate pass a law that obviously concerns the future era of "civil action" when in 1985, to today, there is no trace of "civil disobedience?" The only demonstrations I hear about are those of workers in S. Africa. But related to this new law, the struggles against an apartheid regime in S. Africa are very remote. Further theory engendered this answer: Somehow, somewhere in the future, there would come a use for those "internment camps."....

In August 1985—six months after the passing of the civil disobedience law—one other significant bill was passed. Then U.S. Senator Barry Goldwater issued a bill that had asked for the "...decommission and/or abandonment of fifteen (15) specific military installations." This bill was the only other data I had at the time to relate to the "civil disobedience" law (wherein it provided the specific use of "internment camps"). During the following five months I began a theory that if these military "locations" were a part of these internment camps, then if this were to be true I had also obtained information that would link Goldwater to Kennedy. Also during these five months as I started checking out some of the "locations," I noticed that one of the camps was/is in fact only miles from Big Mountain, at Ft. Wingate, N.M. This information fostered additional keen-interest in getting a hold of more data related to a possible scope/objective project of Kennedy/Goldwater.

In January 1986—the month Sen. Goldwater retired from the U.S. Senate, CBS television program "60 Minutes" interviewed Goldwater. The entire segment was of Goldwater's comments on all persons w/in a portfolio of photographs. Amongst the various past and present heads of state, royalty, the very rich—people who were mostly intimate friends of

Goldwater—the photo of U.S. Senator Edward Kennedy was shown lastly. The first words to come from Goldwater's lips were, "A brilliant person...Ed is my right-hand man on the Commission that President Reagan appointed me Chairman."....

Since mid-1986 I got accustomed to reading my boss's **Restaurants & Institutions** magazine. Mostly my interests with this rag are new menu/recipe ideas (I cook), and also, some of the legislative-related articles on occasion have been interesting, if not altogether "enlightening." The September '87 issue has an interview-article with one of those rich corporate presidents. This particular fella's role is in representing the fast food & restaurant industry

nation-wide and on the international level also. The interview revealed that U.S. Senator Kennedy was one of the "authors" of both the "minimum-wage increase" bill and the "hospitalization & insurance coverage" bill. Certain unnamed Congressmen had asked this corporate president, "How much of a minimum-wage increase can your industry afford?" He had answered: "How much unemployment do you want?" [His emphasis] Furthermore, this man, who earns at least \$80,000plus per year projected that if Congress passed just the minimum-wage increase bill (\$1.30 over the following 3 years), the fast food & restaurant industry would lose some twenty-four million workers.

What remains to be determin-

ed, i.e. substantiated, is where—if at all—are the "internment camps." I have assumed the worst largely because of an earlier unrelated occurrence where I had seen Gov. John Ashcroft (all governors for that matter do the same) told the Missouri "media" that it cost the taxpayer only \$15,000 per year to keep an offender of the law incarcerated in prison. (No one says much about other places of "closed environments.") Actually, these campaigns by Missouri public officials are not ludicrous. What isn't being told is the fact that it cost well over \$220,000 per year to house each criminal.

The thesis is thus: What must be taken into account...is the cost to maintain and construct correctional facilities. Salaries of every

# HUNGRY AND SICK OF WORK?



# EAT THE RICH!

MJ, POB 2962, Bellingham, WA. 98227

person employed within or/related to the Mo. Dept. of Corrections must be included. Every cent must be counted that goes into the coffers of the capitalist meatgrinders who thrive from the revenues of their most sacred and feared State that beg & steal "taxpayer" dollars to fund existing and future "departmental expenditures." And if a reactionary state such as Missouri (and its citizenry) can let this continue indefinitely and without a challenge from the informed body public, then you can take your \$ you've saved and spend it on this year's lottery and bet that it is much easier for a Public Relations government to have the Pentagon allocate resources to renovate established military compounds into internment camps without risking the request of the open Senate to give a certain committee \$40 million-plus to build new facilities because no one dares to say "...we have to build internment camps to lock you up if you start rioting—or getting in our way."

Salud!

Gravy, Jefferson City, MO.

LOOKING VERY TROUBLED HEALTH OFFICIALS TELL WHITE BOY OF THE DEEP CONCERN THAT AIDS RATE IN BABIES IS FAR HIGHER THAN EXPECTED, PRODING GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO

- a. sink millions of \$\$ into new computers
- b. hire outside & inside task forces to oversee each other
- c. investigate new ways not to count some kinds of babies

WHITE BOY ASKS WHAT ABOUT THE KIDS WHO'VE GOT AIDS BUT IS TOLD THAT WILL BE LOOKED INTO A BIT LATER

—by Paul Weinman

SEEING A GROUP OF GUYS STUDYING A BAG OF A POWDERY STUFF WHITE BOY TALKS TO THEM ABOUT NUTRITION

- a. natural sugar is dark brown, this has been altered
- b. white sugar has all its nutrient value removed
- c. this will only lead to an unnatural "high" and a weight problem
- d. whether you realize it or not, sugar can be addictive

THE 8 OR 9 MEN FALL ON THE SIDE WALK LAUGHING & WHITE BOY SAYS—SEE, I TOLD YOU!

—by Paul Weinman

# Letters

## Exploding bodies

Lev,  
Knowing that I can talk honestly with a man who has "understood" exploding bodies--soul searching in another category I hope--Kate Wolfe. Philosophers who are Schopenhauer, Kierkegaard, Unamuno--Kafka, all looking for love--but rejecting any "merely female." A.N. Whitehead--some tender insights--quantum theory--shazaam--right one two ways can sometimes make one--exciting--atoms. Disturbing monads. Tickling laughter. For we are the gods.

C.M., Eugene, OR.

## Quixote

Gentle genius  
Madness knocks  
Upon your door.

You invite her in,  
Embrace her  
Searing ecstasy

Exploring love's  
New depth  
Of definition.

Fragmented who or what  
In deed you once were  
Will be now

Sent forth

For Iris Wormwood  
Has returned your  
Dying as a love  
Work.

Her thighs  
Those mighty mausoleums  
Guard the entrance  
Rustled

In among the tender  
Dreaming

Crying softly  
To be entering  
An empty moment  
Now again  
And weaving

Salty anguish  
Stillborn  
Veils of darkness.

C.M., Eugene, OR.

## Only the Bible

Dear Anarchy,  
I saw your ad in **Maximum Rock'n'Roll** and I immediately jotted down the address. I needed more information on a report I was about to do--Anarchism. Unfortunately, I never got to use any of your articles because they came much too late. Thanks anyway for sending me issues #14 & #15 all for just a buck! I'll be subscribing soon, I love your points of view, though you stick to only one idea. I've been an anarchist for a long time now, or at least close to it. I've always tried looking for the truth and never did put my trust in all forms of authority and abhor all forms of government. I've never wanted anyone to dictate and tell me what is wrong and what is

right--but with the exception of God. I guess you can say that there's one fault, but I have the freedom to believe and think as I would like, right? The maximum leaders, Pope, rulers, dictatorship of the proles, Kings and Queens, Congresses, Parliaments, and bosses of any kind all suck and are even evil. I think that only the Bible holds the truth and I read and translate it on my own, I don't believe in all the different interpretations that confuses and bullshits an individual more. But am I escaping reality though? Out of desperation, man tends to think of all sorts of strange ideologies. One thing is sure fact, only the people who strive to make a difference in this twisted and wicked society will find more meaning and purpose in life.

Still confused,  
Name withheld, Tustin, CA.

watches *Dynasty* on TV wants to be, or actually is thinking that they are the Corbies or whatever, see my point? So, if you can help me, your help is welcome. Money is hard to come by in here so if you have any damaged copies of books also I can receive them. But definitely send me the book or whatever titled **Beyond Character & Morality**. So until I hear from you, take care and stay strong always in revolutionary consciousness.

Yours in struggle,  
J.S., Bellefonte, PA.

## Get off your butt

Dear Lev,  
Really enjoyed the latest ish of **Anarchy**, enclosed is a few bucks to help keep things running. Of course, the paper could be a lot better if you would get off your

me of my social life, but at least I can think. Our school society is composed of fascists and snobs who shun hardcore and my friends... I'm making an underground paper with my friend to mass copy and hopefully disturb our school society enough to cause them to look in the mirror. Anyhow, I wanna hear what you have to say in your zine. So gimme one.

E.S., Pewaukee, WI.  
PS: Stop white supremacy; skin heads lose 35% heat off their heads in the winter leading to brain damage and Nazi nostalgia.

## Anarchy at college

Dear anarchists,  
I found your address in our local anti-authoritarian publication, and thought I'd write to you for more information. I believe

to start my subscription with #16.... Please **do** exchange my address with other newspapers, and please **do** put my address on the "**Anarchy**" contact network." There are not too many people who I see regularly who share my political beliefs, with the possible exception of one of my schoolteachers, a **Fifth Estate** staffer(!), so I am always eager to meet new people. Also, please find enclosed an SASE for a copy of **As We See It!** By the way, it's good that you're expanding the letters pages--one of the best parts of the paper!

So long,  
Craig Stuntz  
531 Westchester Way  
Birmingham, MI. 48009

## Brain opener

Dear **Anarchy**,  
I recently, happily stumbled upon your publication. Please continue opening me up for another year. Here's three+ bucks--cheap! Also, please send me your **As We See It!** Thanks for your cerebral can opener.

D.J., Eugene, OR.

## WOW

Dear Lev et al,  
Only 3 bucks--WOW. Enjoyed Chomsky--found Zerzan pompous, boring and shallow--big title for superficial analysis. Some good things happening--read **Z** magazine--gives some hope.

Will try to interview Italian anarchist Pietro Ferrua who should be in Eugene in March. Will pass on any information. Any questions you'd like asked?

Pass them on to:

C.M., Eugene, OR.

(Editor's note: For a review of **Z(ETA) MAGAZINE** see page 7 of the last issue.)

## Freewheeling discussions

Dear Sir or Madame,  
Please send me a copy of **AS WE SEE IT!** I have enclosed an S.A.S.E. for delivery.

I was happy to discover the journal **Anarchy**... and the free-wheeling discussions it contains. (Great letters section)

Although I am not myself an anarchist, I am interested in alternatives for the world societies (society?) and sympathize with some of the anarchist sentiments I've heard.

I want to learn more about anarchy, and look forward to participating in your printed forum.

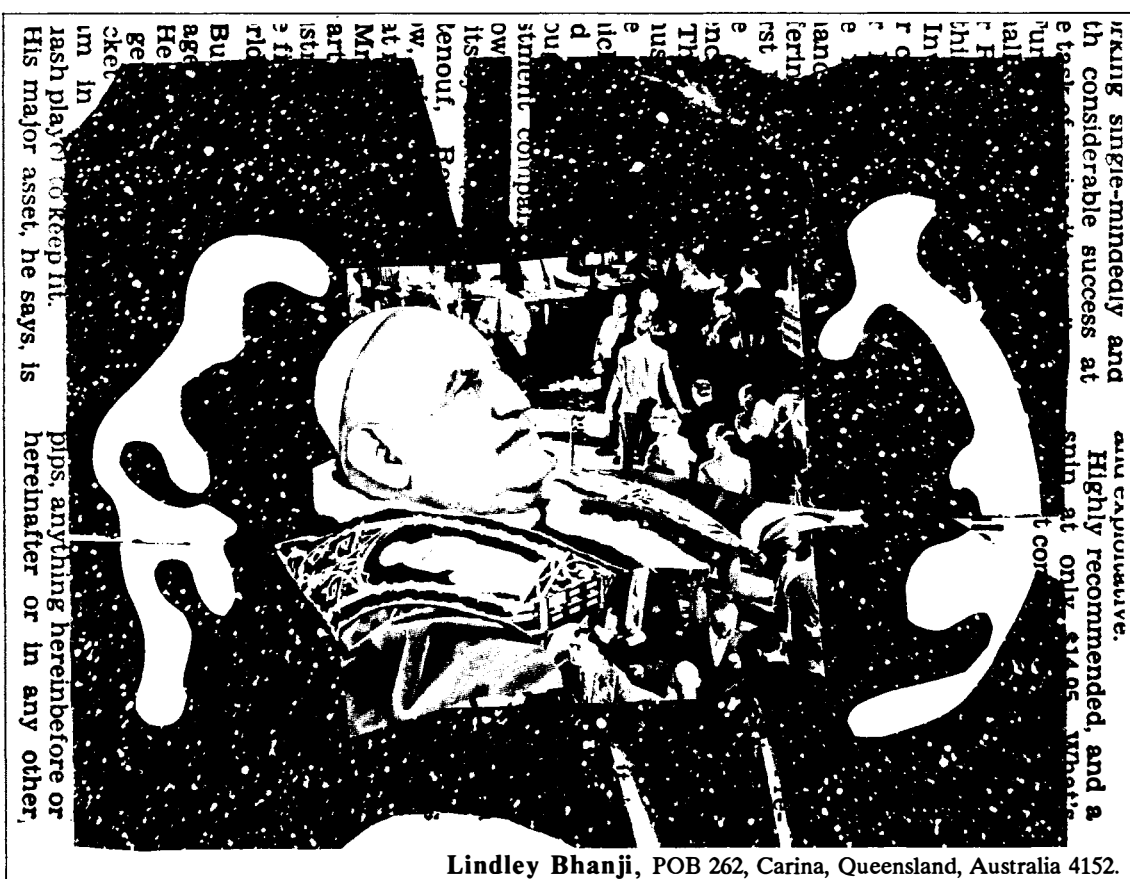
Thanks,  
C.G., Los Angeles, CA.

## Nifty 'zine

**Anarchy!**

Here's six green gods for a subscription--you sent me the Winter '88 ish free(?). I presume from the FF mailing list. (Thanx, Mike G.)

Nifty 'zine (it took me this long to read, I've been busy); keep it up! I loved everything, Knabb, Kinney, Chernyi, the news & reviews, and esp. your lettercol!!! Hard to find hard hitting, informa-



Lindley Bhanji, POB 262, Carina, Queensland, Australia 4152.

## Revolutionary consciousness

Dear C.A.L.,  
I am writing you for your help in getting a copy of **Beyond Character & Morality** and any other literature pertaining to the subject. I read about the subject in a leaflet **Ground Zero** sent me, **As We See It! Common perspectives on ourselves, our world and social change**.

They spoke on the hierarchical system and its enslaving media and alienation of the person. Presently I am in prison and can relate directly with this assertion being under direct repression of the state apparatus. There are so many prisoners brainwashed in here also by this same alienation that sometimes it's hard to relate to them because of this sickness and they not knowing that they are being programmed constantly. Not that I am saying that all of us in here are like that but there is still a few who have not lost their individual self.

Society is a larger replica of this hierarchical alienative system; people are nothing but robots reacting to stimulation of the ruling class's fantasies. Everyone who

butt and start doing a little more than 90 percent of the work. Seriously, though, I read your call for more participation from people in issuing the paper....and, since I have no particular skills to offer up, I'll send some dough instead. Good luck!

For Anarchy,  
Crazy Al  
Farmingdale Anarchists

## Grassroots news

Dear fellow anarchists,  
I would like to subscribe to **Anarchy**, so I have enclosed a check for \$10 to cover the cost of subscription and an humble contribution. It is encouraging to see some grassroot organizations attempting to inform the public which is often restricted to mainstream news accounts. I look forward to hearing from you. Thanks.

Sincerely,  
S.S., Gary, Indiana

## Private school

I'm a 16 year-old high school student at a lame private school. Being in a private school deprives

that we already have anarchy here at Central State University, it just hasn't been officially declared.

The administrators here don't give a rat's ass about the students, but what's even more scary is that the majority of the sheep that attend here don't seem to give a rat's ass what the administrators do to them.

The student government here is probably in good position to win an award for being the most worthless student government on the face of the earth, i.e. the administrators' dream come true. I am at a loss to what I can do about the situation, if in fact anything should be done.

Any advice or comments or information you could send me would be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,  
K.H., Troublemaker  
Edmond, OK.

## Greetings

Fellow anarchists,  
Greetings from Birmingham, MI., about as close to a Republican orgasm as anyone's likely to get.... I received issues #14 & #15 courtesy of the **Fifth Estate**, and was so impressed that I'd like you





tive, and serious stuff (I mean zines, people, conversation) even here in the suburban wasteland of L.A.

Send me whatever follows Winter '88 Okay!

Thanks!  
A.F., Cerritos, CA.

## Bible-banger

Dear Armed and Desirous Anarchists,

Please send me a subscription to your magazine (I've enclosed a check for \$6.00). You evidently have good friends at **Fifth Estate**, because I've ordered a couple things from them lately and both times they sent me a copy of your paper. I'd heard of it before, but to tell the truth, I couldn't really believe that an anarchist mag would come out of Columbia. I'm from St. Louis originally, and all I know about Columbia is that the University is there. Anyway, I was very impressed with your paper. I've read a number of anarchist papers over the past years, mostly from Canada (**Open Road**, **Kick It Over**, **Strike!**) and have been looking for one from the U.S. Not out of any nationalistic sentiment, mind you, but just to see what American anarchists are up to.

Well, I don't want to bore you with all that, so just send me the paper regularly (or irregularly, as you desire).... any anarchists in St. Louis--when I last lived there (in high school), I was a bible-banger, not an anarchist.

Salud,  
F.B., Brooktondale, NY.

## A different direction

Dear Lev,

My brother and some friends were discussing your article "Anarchy in Greece: Part I" from Summer 1987's issue of **Anarchy**. I had never considered the concept of anarchy seriously, but now in my despair of learning more and more of how my government is active in underground operations of killing, drug selling, etc...I think it is time for me to educate myself in a different direction.

Lev, for those of us new on the anarchy scene, could you suggest beginner's level books, tapes, etc...on the theory of anarchy?

Sincerely,  
A., Columbia, MO.

## Lev replies

Unfortunately, there aren't all that many good "beginner's level books, tapes, etc..." at least not currently in print. I'd suggest, first of all, that you send us an SASE for a copy of our own position statement, **As We See It! Secondly**, I'd suggest checking out the local libraries--sometimes they can surprise you with some excellent titles that you couldn't find in even the best bookstores. And third, I'd suggest picking up a copy of Su Negrin's **Begin at Start** and one of the anarchist anthologies (if any are still in print) such as **Reinventing Anarchy** (edited by Ehrlich, Ehrlich, De Leon, & Morris), Irving Louis Horowitz's **The Anarchists**, Krimmerman and Perry's **Patterns of Anarchy**, or **The Essential Works**

of **Anarchism**. Beyond this, I'd suggest getting booklists and catalogs from some of the better anarchist distributors:

**A Distribution**  
396 7th St., #2  
Jersey City, NJ. 07302

**Bound Together Books**  
1369 Haight St.  
S.F., CA. 94117

**Left Bank Distribution**  
5241 University Way, NE.  
Seattle, WA. 98101

(and for tapes)  
**Great Atlantic Radio Conspiracy**  
2743 Maryland Ave.  
Baltimore, MD. 21218

## Space city

Hello!

Here's some art which may be relevant for publication in an issue of **Anarchy** upcoming [*Editorial note: it appears in this issue*]...anyway, I am writing just to get in contact with minds which seem to have heaps to offer. I want a place to live which is free, not only from the clasp of religions, govts, etc.... (ie. institutions which seems to have such a hold and clasp on PEOPLE), but free from the narrow, destructive thought from within the people. Basically, I often feel trapped and isolated, deep in the pits of seclusion and chains because of my environment. At this point in time I don't link myself with any ideology/ism etc., etc.... Sometimes I look at my surroundings, at the centre of commercial "development," the CITY, and I feel that somewhere I've skipped 10, 20, 50 years--it's like a surrealist painting, or a SPACE CITY--the so-called benefits of TECHNOLOGY!!! There are air ships and lights spinning in the sky, a skyline of mirrors, sterile, cold buildings, etc. I HATE THIS DESCENT INTO TECHNOLOGY! Generally, the minds of people correspond to their surroundings and all (almost) verbal communications I partake in seem shallow, futile, and this scary...am I overreacting?...

L.B., Carina, Queensland,  
Australia

## Insight gained

Dear Anarchy,

I recently came across your publication in a small record store in Lawrence, Kansas and found it to be incredibly interesting. I agree with your ideas/theories (on anarchism/libertarianism, etc...) and gained a lot of insight from reading your paper. I live in a small town where it is hard to find publications such as yours, or any which contain information such as yours does. So if at all possible, I would be greatly appreciative if I could receive your paper. I have enclosed the \$3 indicated as subscription cost. Thanx for publishing such an excellent paper.

Sincerely,  
J.D., Salina, KS.

## Spiritually dead

Fellow anarchists,  
I'm a socially conscious, '80s kind of guy. I'm in touch with my

feelings and I feel good about myself. I'm an aware, caring, sharing person sensitive to the concerns of the oppressed minorities struggling against their capitalist slave masters. I've joined in solidarity our sisters fighting against sexism and for the dignity of their personhood. I've made a commitment to support the rights of animals and liberate our friends from the torture and death of medical experiments and food production. My opposition to government is only surpassed by my contempt for religion and the fascists who support both.

My smug self-satisfaction of being a member of a political elite is merely enhanced by the realization of its miniscule proportions. I remain a true believer despite overwhelming evidence that I am deluding myself with an unworkable political philosophy more likely to result in my enslavement than in the freedom I envision. My rejection of any and all traditional values or religious restraints has left me morally bankrupt, chemically wasted, and spiritually dead.

Perhaps Gerry Reith found the answer for all anarchists.

Yours in anarchy,  
Blank Frank, Upstate, SC.

## Racist imprisonment

Dear sisters and brothers,

Racism, like the many other ills of this system, permeates all aspects of life. Not only are blacks

good time, he has learned trades and received an education, and that you feel racism has been the reason he was denied parole in the past.

Thank you.

In the struggle,  
E.U., Berryville, AR.  
P.s. List Larry's full name and inmate number on the letter and envelope.

## Different views

Dear Anarchy,

I read an issue of your paper last month and I thought it was great because it had different views on topics than most newspapers have. Although I didn't agree with every article, I found that I did on some of them. I would appreciate it if you would send me a copy of your next issue. If there's a charge for the paper, write me back and tell me.

Thanks,  
P.W., St. Louis, MO.

[*Editor's note: You forgot to include your address with your letter, but if you see this issue, check out the subscription blank!*]

## Porn is propaganda

Anarchy,

I picked up issue 16 at the Survival Gathering in Toronto last weekend; and was I impressed. **Anarchy** is the most stimulating publication I have read in a long



Lindley Bhanji, POB 262, Carina, Queensland, Australia 4152.

more likely to be imprisoned, but serve longer terms, and are less likely to receive parole. One brother fighting this struggle (convicted by an all-white jury) in the Texas Dept. of Corrections desperately needs your letters urging his release sent to the parole board.

His name is Larry Joe Ross #338966. Letters should be mailed to the Board of Pardons and Paroles, POB 13401, Capitol Station, Austin, TX. 78711. Mention that he was convicted by an all-white jury, that he has been imprisoned for twelve years with no loss of

time. I was particularly aroused by the article "My life in the porn biz" by Holly. Before reading this, I had accepted the anti-porn stand of A. Dworkin, et al. I had always felt a little uncomfortable with this attitude. As well, I had never been given what I considered an adequate definition of either porn or erotica. Holly hit the nail on my head! Of course, porn is propaganda, which tells us human experience is a two-dimensional commodity, like so much else in our consumer-oriented social slavery.

We are exploited by porn, but none more so than the male consumers and their wife/slaves. Keep up this fight, Holly and **Anarchy**. Here's my \$6 and send me what you will.

Smash dogma,  
M.S., Toronto, ONT., Canada

## First time reader

Dear C.A.L.,

Here is one dollar for the latest issue of **ANARCHY; a journal of Desire Armed**. I would subscribe, but I don't have any more money. When and if I have money to I will subscribe.

A short time ago I was given a back issue of your publication (Winter '88) and I liked it a lot. This was the first time I ever read it. I agree with you about "spirituality" and the other things. Keep up the great work.

Sincerely yours,  
C.J., Bossier City, LA.

## Miguel

Shell Game artist  
Heard a cricket's tale  
And tells one.

Life kills  
The soul  
With deep  
Monotony,

Dancing on the knife  
Edge of eternity,

Silent moon

Drenched loneliness  
Again returns  
Its haunting

Stillness,

Hovers near the breaking  
Waves.

Soulcatcher came  
Again last night  
To the cave

Where warriors  
Watch shadows  
Spill their seed

And blood

Upon the hatchet  
Work of heads  
Too Dull for seeing.

Weep juiceless  
Jealousies upon your  
Cold stone pillows

This work's too hard  
For gentle ones, she said,  
Be sharp below

The furrows.

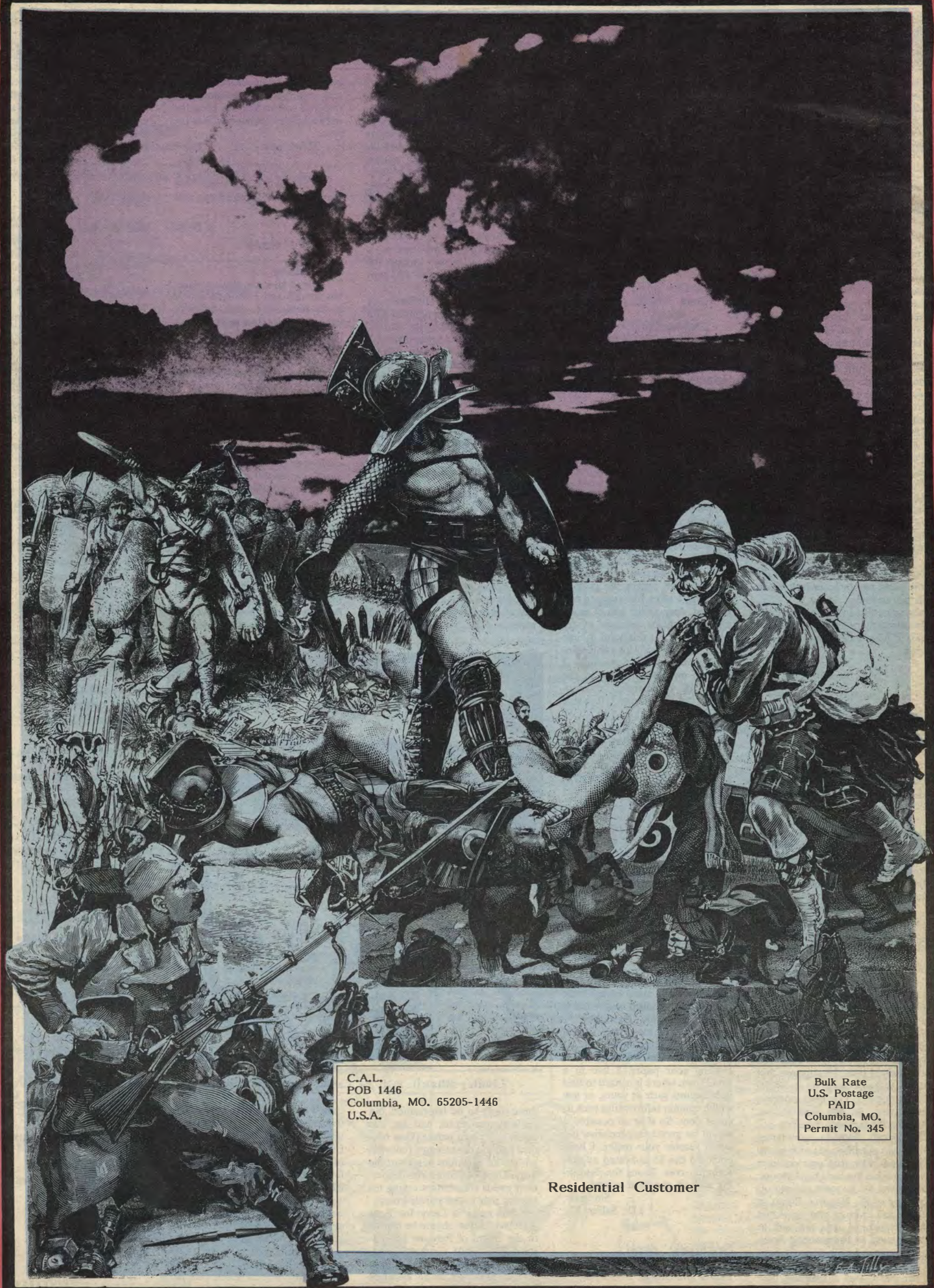
Catch windmills to  
Escape impossibilities,  
Lance high

Excite the crowds  
Who feed upon  
Imperious

Undoings.

C.M., Eugene, OR.





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